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THE BRITISH ARMY AND SPORT IN CANADA:
CASE STUDIES OF THE GARRISONS AT HALIFAX, MONTREAL AND KINGSTON TO 1871

by

© ROBERT DOUGLAS DAY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the contributions of the Imperial forces of Great Britain to the development of sport in Halifax, Montreal and Kingston prior to their general recall from the colonies in 1871. These centres were chosen for two distinct reasons, their geographical extremity and the diversity of sporting profiles that they appeared to maintain during the period under study. The problem was approached from various interpretive perspectives including biographical, institutional, political and geographical varieties. While it was confirmed that British troops, especially officers, were particularly active in community sports during their posting in the North American colonies, their impact on the organization and development of the numerous colonial pastimes steadily decreased over time. Whereas the troops were sorely missed when they were transferred to the Crimea in 1854, a similar concern was not evident in 1871. But even this must be qualified. In Montreal, the impact of the troops on the development of community sport had lessened considerably after the mid-years of the century when civilian sport became more highly organized. This development was less rapid in Kingston where the troops remained important owing to the smaller size of the town. Conversely, at Halifax, the troops remained central figures

although even there, civilians gradually took the lead in the organization of community sporting events.

Nevertheless, in numerous activities, the Imperial regulars made their mark as competitors, organizers, patrons, judges and club/meet officers. At the same time, the War Office recognized the merits of physical activity in the mid-years of the nineteenth century and thus the army institution sponsored sporting activities for the well-being of the men. Local sportsmen benefitted from the official military sanctions which followed. Ultimately, the military exertions complemented those of the civilians and a sporting symbiosis developed between the two groups. The development of Canadian sport was enhanced as a result. Although the motives of these sporting interchanges were not always sport-oriented, they served to contribute to the development of sport in the colonial towns.

PREFACE

As a result of the influence of the British garrison and fleet on the town of Halifax, a British officer of the period concluded that the population was more English in manners than any he had seen elsewhere in America.[1] He based his consideration on the evident fondness of the townspeople for processions, marching bands, dancing, lobster-spearing, boating and sleighing. These activities were largely ramifications of the interrelations between the British military garrisons, a product of an Old World power, and the environment in which they found themselves, the embryonic communities of a fledgling colony.

During the British colonial period, Imperial military personnel stationed in the Maritimes and the Canadas were vital to the defence of the territory and the preservation of the new society. Perhaps far more important than their stalwart defensive posture however, was their social impact on the maturing colony. Sport particularly, was honourably preserved and promoted until their departure in 1871.

Lindsay,[2] while tracing the development of Canadian sport from 1807 to 1867, recognized that British military personnel stationed in the colony were actively engaged in the pursuit of leisure time sports and pastimes. In a later article,[3] he cited this army involvement as "a paramount influence" in the development of sport in Canada. Lindsay's conclusions were founded primarily on the basis of newspaper reports which listed military personnel among competitors, judges and organizers. While this research has afforded an enlightening glimpse of early Canadian sport, it is in no way exhaustive. In fact, Lindsay exhorted future researchers to investigate, in greater detail, influences that have been perceived as instrumental in bringing about the various sporting activities in Canada.[4] British colonialism, and more precisely, the military garrisons stationed in British North America, was one of these major causes.

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[1] Francis Duncan, Our Garrisons in the West, or Sketches of British North America, London: Chapman and Hall, 1864, p. 22.

[2] Peter L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969.

Related military literature too, offers but a passing glance at the social impact of the military on the development of Canadian society. Those references that do exist offer only superficial treatment of the subject. Few historians suggest that the British soldiers considered sport as anything but a mere diversion. Others have questioned this oversight. Philp, who examined the social and economic role of the Imperial regulars in Upper Canada, was convinced that ". . . the activities and relationships of the garrisons during the years of peace provide a fruitful field for research on a local level."[5] Massey profiled the Canadian military and commented on the widespread misunderstanding of the role of the military throughout Canadian history. He considered this a major shortcoming of most, if not all, military studies completed to date. In making a plea for military research with a greater social orientation, Massey suggested that:

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[3] Peter L. Lindsay, "The Impact of Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 1, No. 1 (May, 1970): 33.

[4] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada," p. 398.

> Whatever the reason, the military have been neglected as a field of study by most of the social scientists . . . . if military studies are to be undertaken with any success, it will be necessary to learn from both the professional and the outside researcher.[6]

Thus, this study is particularly relevant for several reasons. First, the significance of the role of military garrisons in the development of Canadian sport has been indicated but has not been sufficiently developed. Second, the same can be said, in part, for military studies that have dealt with the presence of British regulars in the colony. Despite the scholarly attempts that have been made, a definitive social orientation is lacking, especially with regard to sport. Therefore, the present study will provide a 'missing link'; one that is extremely important to both disciplines, sport and military history, yet not fully understood by either. Ultimately, our understanding of Canadian sport history will be enhanced.

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[5] John Philp, "The Economic and Social Effects of the British Garrisons in the Development of Western Upper Canada," Ontario History, Vol. XLI, No. 1 (1949):47.

[6] Hector J. Massey (ed.), The Canadian Military: A Profile, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972, pp. 1,3.

The delimitations of the study include two distinct considerations, the garrisons themselves and the time period under study.

The study will focus on the garrisons situated at Halifax, Montreal and Kingston. The selection of these garrisons, and the exclusion of others, was based on several considerations.

First and foremost, once established, each garrison except Halifax became a permanent feature in the community in which it was located until the withdrawal of Imperial troops in 1871. Whereas many garrisons were abandoned intermittently owing to military cutbacks and/or personnel requirements as a result of a taxing military situation elsewhere, troops were deployed at Halifax, Montreal and Kingston throughout the period under study.[7] Toronto and

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[7] For example, between 1850 and 1852 eight minor stations were abandoned including Amherstburg, Three Rivers and

London, two lively garrison and sporting communities, did not meet this requirement. Quebec, a major cog in British North American defence, was largely a French Canadian community and despite myriad examples of military sport, including that practised at Montmorenci and the Plains of Abraham, sporting interaction between the garrison and the community was limited. Owing to the often élite nature of their sport, the garrison personnel may have unwittingly stymied 'French' inclusion in what became 'Canadian' amusements.

Secondly, the populations of these communities, and the resultant reputation of each for sport was a determining factor in their inclusion within the study. Halifax, as compared to Montreal and Kingston, boasted a moderate level of population during the period under review. As a sporting community, Halifax has received notable mention but cannot be considered as a 'hotbed' of Canadian sport,[8] largely as a result of its geographical extremity. Montreal, with a

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Chambly (C. P. Stacey, Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1936, p. 85). Just two years later, after the commencement of the Crimean War, every station in the Canadas with the exceptions of Quebec, Montreal and Kingston was denuded of regular troops (Stacey : 90). Although at no time voluntarily abandoned, the town of Montreal was besieged and eventually occupied by American forces for nine months during 1775-6. (William Henry Atherton, Montreal, 1535-1914, Montreal: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914, Vol. II, pp. 71-87).

[8] This phrase, intended to identify communities which

significantly larger population, has been considered as the 'mecca' of Canadian sport. At the other geographical extreme, Kingston was a relatively small town. The development of sport there, prior to this research, had not been extensively examined but could be expected to be limited in comparison to Montreal. Halifax should reflect a level of development somewhat between the two. Thus, the centres chosen for inclusion in this study offered an excellent cross-section of urban, nineteenth century Canada.

As suggested, Halifax, Montreal and Kingston are good representative geographical samples. Halifax, as a Maritime garrison, offers a glimpse of both the British Army and the Royal Navy in what was the Admiralty's Atlantic headquarters. Montreal, unrivalled as the commercial capital of Canada and after 1836 the headquarters of the British Army in the Canadas, represents a Lower Canadian garrison. Kingston, the most important point of transhipment in the west and the citadel of the great lakes provides a stable sample from Upper Canada. By 1871, no permanent British command was located further west than Upper Canada. Temporary garrisons on the west coast (1858-1863) and at Fort Garry (1857-1861)[9]

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actively promoted sundry sporting activities, was coined by Henry Roxborough, in One Hundred - Not Out, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966, Chapter XXV, pp. 228-238.

[9] J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada: 1763-1871, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968, pp. 161-2.

would not have imparted a sustained effect on the development of Canadian sport in these regions. But at Halifax, Montreal and Kingston troops were constantly in garrison.

Chronological delimitations were set by historical fact. The Halifax garrison was established at the same time as the initial settlement, in 1749. Montreal came under the control of the British crown in 1760 with the capitulation of the French. Kingston was first garrisoned by Imperial forces in 1783 in anticipation of the arrival of United Empire Loyalists who settled the area the following year. Therefore, with the brief exception of Montreal (1775-1776), these communities were continuously garrisoned by British regulars. Imperial troops were withdrawn from the colony, except at Halifax, in 1871. The British military presence remained at Halifax (and later Esquimalt) until 1906 when they too were recalled.[10] For purposes of continuity and comparison, the years post-dating 1871 will not be considered.

The study will utilize a novel organizational format in an attempt to examine more closely the role of the British garrisons in the development of Canadian sport. It largely resembles McLeish's Evangelical Religion and

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[10] C. Stuart Mackinnon, "The Imperial Fortresses in Canada: Halifax and Esquimalt, 1871-1906," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1965.

Popular Education[11] insofar as it examines the problem from various interpretive perspectives. Whereas McLeish assumed economic, anthropological, psychological and sociological interpretations "in the light of social thought," the present study will employ biographical, institutional, political and geographical interpretations. Nor are these entirely original. Rather, they have been extrapolated from Commager's The Nature and the Study of History, applied as a research framework and guideline and used as criteria for interpreting the topic.[12]

It is important to note that Commager did not recognize these headings as distinct interpretations nor did he venture to suggest that they be used as such. Rather, he was outlining the various "varieties of history" known to him, and assumed that with the addition of chronological and social/cultural typologies, all historical writing could be placed in one or other of these categories. If Commager's assumption is correct, it could also be assumed that the investigation of any single topic in light of, or with respect to each of these "varieties", would result in a complete and interesting survey.

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[11] John McLeish, Evangelical Religion and Popular Education: A Modern Interpretation, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1969, p. v.

[12] Henry Steele Commager, The Nature and the Study of History, Columbus, Ohio: Merril Books Inc., 1966, pp. 15-26.

In the present study, each variety has been utilized as a distinct interpretation of the question of the role of the British garrisons in the development of community sport in Canada. Each provides yet another portal through which to examine the sporting interests and involvement of the troops in garrison in Halifax, Montreal and Kingston. While appropriate and enlightening, however, some interpretations demand more emphasis than others. Rather than detract from the method itself, such an imbalance simply bears evidence of the varying impact of the military on the development of Canadian community sport.

For the historian, the problem of organization concerns not so much the methodology employed, but rather the underlying objective of the chosen format. In this view, perhaps the most pressing question pertains to the operational definitions applied therein. Despite this apparent weakness, an inherent strength also exists. An author may use an organizational design in accordance with those hypotheses originally identified in the study. The results of his research can then be scrutinized with respect to these preconceived tenets. The author cannot, however, simply apply an organizational format that seems to suit his data. This qualification must be critically appraised in any attempt at setting operational definitions.

Following a brief resumé of the form and function of the British garrisons in Halifax, Montreal and Kingston, a biographical interpretation will examine the type of personnel stationed in British North America, both officers and other ranks. The discussion will be based on examples discerned primarily from diaries. An attempt will be made to examine the subjects of this inquiry, the British military personnel, against the historical background of Canadian society and Canadian sport.[13] What type of people and lifestyle did the military represent, and did they in fact embellish the sporting history of Canada by their actions prior to their departure in 1871? The purpose of the chapter then, will be to examine the personalities or 'functional mentality' of the military, especially with reference to sport.

Further, how did these personalities function within the army institution? Here, the Imperial forces are construed as highly trained, disciplined and organized men. Troops could provide leadership for numerous purposes, both military and social. Against the backdrop of the role of sport and physical exercise within the military institution, the relationship of the parts to the whole (the soldiers to the army) will be discussed in an attempt to discern which had a greater impact on the development of Canadian sport.

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[13] Ibid., p. 25.

Politically, the military can be viewed as a representative bastion of the old British Empire. Thus the relationship between the armed forces and the colony becomes a crucial element in the investigation of the contribution of the military to the development of Canadian sport. How did the institution function within the colonial society? How was it received? The British North American colony can be viewed largely as an extension of Great Britain itself. The question must then be raised concerning the balance between emerging national pride in the colony and the apparent dependence on maintaining a semblance of things 'British'. Was this colonial incongruence evident, and if so, was it manifest in sport? Perhaps the army was intended to serve as a tie with the homeland, with sport as a primary agent.

Despite Commager's caution to ". . . use geography as an organizing device rather than as a philosophical explanation,"[14] each consideration can be applied meaningfully and successfully in the present study. The environmental impact of a particular setting may serve as a gauge by which to measure the contribution of the garrison to the developing mosaic of community sport. Secondly, the correlation between the urban based garrisons and sport, a largely urban phenomenon, may be enlightening. Thirdly, did the geographical background of the particular regiments influence the extent of their sporting participation? A geographical comparison of the three distinct communities should provide valuable information relevant to the subject of this inquiry.

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[14] Ibid., p. 19.

Finally, a social/cultural interpretation will provide a summary of the study, a combination of the previous interpretations employed in the dissertation. This will represent the culmination of the effects of the biographical index, the military personnel; the institutional index, the army itself; the political index, imperial relations; and the geographical index, the implications of home and colony. These in turn, will provide a portrait of the emerging society and sporting culture in British North America. The focus will examine "the [sporting] history of the mind and character" of the people, both colonists and military personnel.[15] The major sporting ideas which appeared to dominate the society, and the soldiers, should become evident and therefore clarify our understanding of Canadian sport. Ultimately, the chapter will provide a summary of the study, an overview of the different cultural indices at work on the nineteenth century Canadian sports scene, British society and sport, as manifest in the garrisons, and Canadian society and sport as manifest in the local townspeople, if these indices in fact existed.

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[15] Ibid., p. 20.

Sport is a dominant social aspect of the community. The expressed purpose of this study is to examine one historical basis for Canada's contemporary sporting culture, namely, its sporting heritage as owed to the British North American garrisons of the Crown.

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In summary, this dissertation is dedicated to the officers and men of the British Army, the Royal Navy, the Royal Artillery, the Royal Engineers, the Royal Sappers and Miners and the Royal Marines who contributed to the development of Canadian sport.

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CHAPTER I

THE IMPERIAL FORCES AT HALIFAX, MONTREAL AND KINGSTON: A CAPSULE VIEW

Introduction

Many Canadians take pride in asserting that they and their forefathers are an unmilitary people. However, those versed in the history of British North America realize that Canada was shaped by numerous periods of strife, both military and civil. Warfare played an important part in the development and formation of a distinct Canadian nation. As a British colony, much of the onus for Canadian defense rested with the Imperial forces. Thus the British land and naval forces were constantly in garrison in the North American possession. In fact, early Canadians were moved by "a real sentiment of gratitude" for the free defense provided by the British Parliament prior to, and even after Confederation. In 1913, Robert Borden proclaimed that without the dominance of British military patronage, Canada would not exist.[1] Unfortunately, many contemporary Canadians are afflicted with a profound 'cultural amnesia'. In his historical survey of the defensive heritage of Canada, The Canadian Military: A Profile, Massey reiterated this lapse of memory:

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[1] Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1876-1914, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, p. 233.

> The military have been an important element in the development of Canadian society, and yet their role has been consistently misunderstood and underemphasized. Only in time of war or during rare domestic crises have the military been conspicuous.[2]

From the time of the earliest British settlement in North America, Imperial regulars were stationed in the colony. While their strategic role assumed a defensive posture, the impact of their presence on Canadian society was certainly marked. Sport too, an integral component of contemporary Canadian society and culture, reflected the impact of their tactical occupation.

The Imperial forces boast a distinguished record of service in British North America. Their battle honours are enshrined on memorials across the Dominion. Furthermore, numerous intangible testimonials assert their presence in early Canada. Perhaps far more important than their stalwart defensive posture against the United States, for example, was their social and economic impact on the fledgling colony. Dating from the conquest of New France in 1759, British troops remained a salient reminder of the colony's imperialistic ties. During subsequent decades, the numerical strength of British regiments and garrisons in Canada registered like a barometer the conditions of Anglo-American relations.[3] Owing to the constant threat posed by the Americans as a result of the political idea of "manifest destiny", British regiments resided in the colony and exerted a profound influence on colonial affairs. With reference to the Maritimes, Harris and Warkentin concluded in their geographical history of Canada that:

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[2] Hector J. Massey (ed.), The Canadian Military: A Profile, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Ltd., 1972, p. 1.

> The military and government units established at Halifax after 1749 ensured that the British institutions would prevail in the region . . .[4]

As a representative sample, the bastion at Halifax mirrored the military disposition prevalent throughout the colony. Wherever and whenever troops encamped, they left a lasting memory of a distinctly British institution. Their effect on the social development of Canada should not be underestimated.

First and foremost however, the British soldier's primary responsibility was that of a fighting man. Although originally a conqueror, whether over the French or the Indians, the British soldier was instantly transformed into a defender as a result of American encroachments during the War of Independence. But as the number of British regiments increased the life of the British regular became more comfortable. He was viewed as an essential member of the community and accorded the respect commensurate with the position. At times, he was petitioned for his support, be it for required labour such as firefighting or for the more pleasant assemblies and social graces. In return, the Imperial regulars were frequently invited to enjoin the festivities of the communities in which they were stationed. For the officer, this position was an enviable one. For the private soldier, life was at least tolerable.

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[3] C. P. Stacey, Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, p. 11.

[4] R. Cole Harris, J. Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 184.

The degree to which the combatant's lifestyle approached "military bliss" was a reflection of the historical setting in which he toiled. For example, in 1783 when the 34th Regiment disembarked at Cataraqui (Kingston) and commenced construction of the first permanent British barracks there, the infantryman could expect little time to revel in his favourite pastime.[5] Any expectation of sport would seem ludicrous. Military work details were long, arduous and exhausting. Even into the 1830s, when the lot of the enlisted man improved significantly, garrison personnel were often utilized as labourers. Only at this time were recreational pastimes becoming popular.

A second limiting factor was warfare itself. Periods of military unrest punctuated the decades between 1749 and

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[5] Rose Mary Gibson, "An Historical Chronology of Kingston," Historic Kingston, Vol. 18, p. 69.

1871 and necessitated that a minimal level of military preparedness be maintained and a certain caution be exercised by commanders along the colonial frontier. The social atmosphere of the garrison town was ultimately affected.

At times, the Imperial forces were called upon to both preserve and protect the home government's interests in the colony. During the years immediately following the founding of Halifax in 1749, settlers were faced with the Indian 'menace'. Troops were used as pickets in response to the prevailing threat and on one occasion, a perimeter blockhouse was surprised by a party of warriors while the guard were drinking and playing cards, resulting in the deaths of several men.[6] After several 'massacres' of this nature, garrison personnel conceded that greater precautions were necessary in order to preserve the embryonic communities of the North American colony. In 1759, British war lords decided to terminate French North American interests in order to cut defence costs and preserve their own colonial empire in the west. The subsequent battle for Quebec on the Plains of Abraham resulted in a British victory and the eventual occupation of the Canadas by British forces and settlers.[7]

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[6] Harry Piers, The Evolution of Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928, Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1947, p. 6.

[7] There are many excellent accounts of the British conquest of North America. See for example, C. P. Stacey, Quebec, 1759: The Siege and the Battle, Toronto: Macmillan Co. Ltd., 1959.

In 1837, Upper and Lower Canada erupted in open political rebellion and British troops were summoned to suppress the violence, particularly in the lower province.[8]

The preservation of the United Kingdom itself also influenced the role of the troops in Canada when hostilities erupted abroad. The most significant of these occurred in the Crimea in 1854, when, with rare exception, the regular troops were recalled from the Canadian colony. In his study on the impact of military garrisons on the development of colonial sport, Lindsay found that a noted drop in reported sporting competition was the result.[9] However, when the troops returned in 1856, the original level of interaction was renewed. Finally, on the eve of their departure for Europe, British troops were last called on to preserve Canadian order in Manitoba in 1870. The leader of the rebellion there, Louis Riel, was later banished to the United States and the troops returned to the east.

At other times, British troops were required to defer their present duties in order to protect the colony from external attack. In 1762, Halifax received the startling news of the French capture of St. John's, Newfoundland.

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[8] Similarly, many good source books exist concerning the rebellions of 1837. For an interesting account of the Lower Canadian turmoil, see Joseph Schull, Rebellion: The Rising in French Canada, 1837, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971.

[9] Lindsay, "The Impact of Military Garrisons," p. 39.

Immediately a council of war was appointed and a program of training and fortification was commenced.[10] Later, in 1780, intelligence reports confirmed that a large French naval force was being prepared at Brest. The British, fearing a North American assault, ordered the garrison at Halifax on a war footing, including the labour of fifteen hundred men daily in improving the present fortifications.[11] During these periods of military unrest, little sport could be anticipated.

A comparable situation prevailed throughout North America. During the American Revolution one would suspect that military affairs would dominate the soldiers' time. Even peace failed to alter the troops' recreational potential dramatically. The subsequent Treaty of Paris, ratified in 1783, presented a dichotomous situation relevant to the Army's colonial disposition. Whereas British forces were now required to guard less area and actual hostilities had ceased, the rise of the newly-fledged American Republic meant greater imminent danger for the Canadian colony itself.[12] In 1802, the peace treaty of Amiens terminated English-French hostilities and temporarily ended the European threat to British supremacy in North America.[13] The British Parliament consequently reduced the military strength of the colony. But peace was short-lived. As Napoleon's domination of Europe advanced, British troops were recalled from the colony and the British garrison in Canada was reduced to a minimum. Although the remaining troops at first experienced a relaxed colonial atmosphere, the calm was soon shattered in 1812, when war was declared between Great Britain, including Canada, and the United States. In 1861, troops were alerted and reinforced when the American Civil War erupted and threatened to engulf Canada. British sentiments rested with the rebellious Confederacy, and Canada's proximity to the northern Union states caused tremendous anxiety when seamen from the U.S.S. San Jacinto boarded the British mail packet H.M.S. Trent and imprisoned two southern diplomats who were proceeding to England. Fortunately, the Trent Affair was resolved peaceably and Canada was spared the reality of war. However, the episode was important for Canadian society since the British garrison contingent in North America was greatly increased in response to the threatening situation. Notwithstanding the troops' inactivity during the American conflict, they were later required in 1866 and 1870 to repel the politically motivated Fenian raids. Thus, during their tenure in Canada and the Maritimes, the

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[10] Piers, The Evolution of Halifax Fortress, p. 11.

[11] Ibid., p. 18.

[12] Stacey, Canada and the British Army, p. 9.

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[13] J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968, pp. 65-6.

leisure time available to the garrisoned troops depended upon the military situation prevalent in the colony.

Whereas periods of military unrest may have stymied the British soldiers' quest for sport, the resultant troop deployment may have spurred its practice. The 1837 rebellions in the Canadas provide a particularly vivid example. Although the violence of the rebellions itself was suppressed with comparative ease, the pervading internal threat necessitated the presence of a large military force in Canada. As a result, in 1838 there were 13,000 regulars in British North America, whereas there had been under 5,000 in the years previous to the armed rebellion.[14] Once the rebels had been routed, rounded up and jailed, the troops led what was largely a boring existence. Thus, social recreations, including sport, could be expected.

Stanley,[15] one of Canada's foremost military historians, viewed the basis of Canadian defence, and the resultant British troop build-up and deployment, solely on the United States' threat during the century following the American Revolutionary War. Accordingly, sufficient garrison troops were required in the colony to meet and stave off the initial blow of any invasion until reinforcements could arrive from

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[14] Stacey, Canada and the British Army, pp. 15-18.

[15] George F. G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954, Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1954, pp. 128-9.

Great Britain. In turn, the life and work patterns of the garrisons were directly conditioned by the international situation of the period and the resultant type and extent of their military duties, the quality of amenities available to the army itself and, the character of the town it was intended to protect. Thus the degree of participation in sports and pastimes by garrison personnel throughout the years preceding 1871 would be expected to reflect these periods of military tension.

The year 1871 is significant because British troops were withdrawn from British North America with the exception of Halifax and later Esquimalt. Confederation signalled Canadian nationhood and most Britishers questioned Parliamentary expenditure on Canadian defence. Debate in the House of Commons had addressed this question frequently in previous years.[16] The 1850s saw the birth of intense anti-imperialistic feelings relative to unreasonable military expenditures in a western colony that no longer was even economically valuable.[17] The ire of British reformers was raised at the absurd thought of providing troops for a substantially 'independent' colony. In the opinion of many, the political and economic autonomy granted the colony in the late 1840s demanded a modicum of responsibility for maintaining the defensive posture necessary for the safety of the land. The death knell sounded in 1862 when the British Parliament resolved that: "Colonies exercising the rights of self-government ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security."[18] The resolution was not put into effect immediately however. Despite Confederation, Canadian politicians would not be reconciled to the proposed British withdrawals, and moreover, refused to allocate funds for the expansion of a regular Canadian force. While colonial ministers vehemently resisted any diminution of the Imperial contribution towards British North American defence, the Imperial Government increasingly sought to sever western responsibilities. Finally, in 1868 British Prime Minister Gladstone delivered the final ultimatum, demanding ". . . more self-reliance, and more self-relying habits . . ." from Canada.[19] Shortly, the Queen's uniform would disappear from most of Canada.

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[16] Stacey, Canada and the British Army, passim.

[17] Ibid., pp. 49-53.

At Quebec, the final embarkation point prior to Halifax, the citizens said good-bye to the British soldiers "with no feigned regret."[20] The garrisons had always been important economically. Their social and cultural contributions to

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[18] Ibid., p. 128.

[19] Ibid., p. 204.

[20] Ibid., p. 253.

Canadian life were equally great, yet, as expressed by Stacey, perhaps the Canadian attitude had matured by 1871:

> The redcoats had been in general, popular with all classes; and in the upper ranks, particularly, the military officers had been welcome ornaments of the exiguous society of the small colonial cities of those days. Not a few of them had married Canadian wives. The removal of the garrisons snapped a tie that had contributed to the social unity of the empire; for each British regiment had been a little section of the mother country set down on a distant shore. Yet when one considers how long the troops had been a familiar and agreeable feature of Canadian life, it is curious how little difference their departure made. They went, and Canada was sorry; but she was soon reconciled to their absence.[21]

Did sport reflect this? The near wholesale withdrawal of troops during the Crimean War, well documented by military historians,[22] precipitated a noticeable decline in reported sporting competitions.[23] However, the same dependency may not have existed fifteen years later when Imperial forces withdrew from the colony.

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[21] Ibid., p. 261.

[22] Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, p. 155; Stacey, Canada and the British Army, pp. 89-90.

[23] This point was raised by Peter L. Lindsay in his article entitled "The Impact of Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America." The author's current research data generally corroborated Lindsay's conclusion although specific sporting activities showed distinct variations. Geographical differences too were evident. These will be discussed more thoroughly in a later chapter.

Extensions of the Empire: Halifax, Montreal and Kingston

British North Americans were not a subject people. Rather, they were citizens of the Crown and therefore deserved the protection of the mother country. Indeed, until the 1850s when objections began to be heard, the colony was considered a valuable commercial asset. Furthermore, the strategic importance of British North America remained unchallenged until mid-century. As a result, whenever British settlers became ensconced in an area, Imperial regulars were soon to become a prominent feature of the community.

With the ratification of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Great Britain was ceded the territory comprising Acadie or Nova Scotia. Extensive settlement was not realized immediately as the Atlantic region had been prized more for its strategic value and its fisheries than for its potential for settlement.[24] By the middle of the eighteenth century this policy was altered. Nova Scotia would no longer remain an empty reserve protected by naval forces operating from outside the region. Instead, a site for settlement was to be selected and a garrison sent to counter the French presence at Louisbourg. This signalled the birth of Halifax.

On June 21, 1749 the Honourable Edward Cornwallis and twenty-five hundred settlers arrived on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia. They were accompanied by two companies of Imperial regulars. In July, the new garrison at Halifax was strengthened by the 29th and 45th Regiments of Foot which had just evacuated the conquered fortress of Louisbourg. Since the settlers had refused to provide for their own defence, the troops immediately commenced the construction of five stockaded forts with connecting palisades. By mid-September, a small fort, the precursor to the citadel of Fort George, was completed on the hill overlooking the harbour. By autumn, a rough barricade was complete.[25]

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[24] Harris, Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation, p. 173.

In subsequent years the fortifications underwent constant renovation and expansion. Batteries were established, blockhouses were built and palisades enlarged. But although Halifax did experience an immediate threat until the capture and demolition of Louisbourg in 1758, the settlement was never attacked. Less immediate threats were still prevalent however and fortifications were constructed throughout the eighteenth century. The present citadel was constructed between 1828 and 1856 by military and civilian labourers.[26] Although the guns of Fort George had never fired a shot in anger, the armament was obsolete by 1870 due to the rifling of artillery, introduced in 1859.

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[25] Piers, The Evolution of Halifax Fortress, pp. 1-2.

[26] Ibid., pp. 2-39.

British troops and naval personnel garrisoned the town from its inception until 1906. Because Halifax was the summer headquarters of the Atlantic fleet in the western hemisphere, it was continually garrisoned by numerically strong forces. As a result, Haligonians constantly interacted with the troops and developed a certain dependence on their presence in the community.

Unlike Halifax, the garrison of Montreal possessed neither a citadel nor a formidable naval contingent. It was not an English settlement but rather a predominantly French community that had fallen under British control after the capitulation of New France and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763.[27] However, when most French merchants chose to leave the commercial capital of the St. Lawrence and return to France, British entrepreneurs flooded the city and effectively planted the seeds of a strong English-speaking community. From that period, Montreal sport may be viewed largely as a product of Great Britain.

Following the conquest, Montreal was never a strong military garrison. During the War of Independence the city was besieged and eventually occupied by American forces for nine months.[28] By the turn of the nineteenth century the city's defences were in a deplorable state. Most of the ancient fortifications had been demolished and only a defended supply depot on St. Helen's Island was capable of offering any resistance. Essentially, Montreal was the weak link in the chain of Canadian defence.[29]

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[27] Stanley, Canada's Soldiers, pp. 98-9.

Nevertheless, after 1814 Montreal was the headquarters of the British Army in the Canadas.[30] This title carried with it an enviable social atmosphere. Montreal became home to the élite of the military establishment in the central colony, unparalleled in British North America as the most sought after station, eclipsing Halifax in that respect. The city was the commercial capital of the country, a situation that provided endless social opportunities for energetic officers. Montreal society was "well heeled" yet exciting, and offered an "elysium of bliss" for the British soldier, both officer and enlisted man alike.

The town of Kingston was dwarfed by its eastern neighbour, Montreal, but possessed a significant military establishment nonetheless. Its strategic significance was identified immediately by the French as controlling the movement of vessels between the Great Lakes and Montreal, thereby effectively controlling traffic and trade between the interior and the sea. As a potential troop dispersal centre, it was unrivalled. Thus, the French constructed Fort Frontenac at the confluence of the Cataraqui River and Navy Bay in 1673.[31] The fortress was captured by the British under General Bradstreet previous to the fall of New France and remained unoccupied until the end of the American Revolutionary War. Later, under the orders of Sir Frederick Haldimand, the area was surveyed as a possible location for United Empire Loyalist settlement. In the spring of 1783, the 34th Regiment was ordered to the area from nearby Carleton Island and erected a three hundred man barrack. Loyalist settlement followed and Kingston's establishment was assured.

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[28] William Henry Atherton, Montreal, 1535-1914, Montreal: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914, Vol. II, pp. 71-87.

[29] Stanley, Canada's Soldiers, p. 131.

[30] Elinor L. Senior, "The British Garrison in Montreal in the 1840s," Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, Vol. LII, No. 210 (Summer, 1974): 111.

Owing to the strategic and commercial importance of the town, old fortifications were continuously under reconstruction and new ones were being planned. In 1788, a naval yard was constructed in Navy Bay and became the Royal Navy's principal base of operations on Lake Ontario until it was abandoned in 1836.[32] Between 1832 and 1836, the citadel was built on Point Henry in order to protect the terminus of the Rideau Canal, completed in 1831. Fort Henry became a bustling centre of military life and was garrisoned continuously by British regulars until 1870.[33] On Friday, April 1, 1870 the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, stationed at Kingston since 1854, carried out its last ceremonial parade on the square of the Tete-de-Pont Barracks.[34]

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[31] George F. G. Stanley, "Historic Kingston and its Defences," Ontario History, Vol. XLVI, No. 1, pp. 21-2.

[32] Ibid., pp. 28-9.

During the years in which Kingston was garrisoned by Imperial troops, the town normally housed two regiments of the line. With such a large garrison in proportion to the size of the community, Kingstonians were familiar with the Imperial regulars. The permanence of the Royal Canadian Rifles at Kingston, a unit composed of men with extensive records of impeccable conduct, meant that relations between the garrison and the community were perhaps better and more stable than any station in British North America. This produced a pleasant social climate in Kingston. Yachting, horse racing, driving, cricket clubs and a wide variety of sports were liberally indulged in. This successful sporting atmosphere was largely a result of the harmonious relations that existed between the Imperial troops and their Canadian neighbours.

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[33] For a complete discussion of the fortifications at Kingston several excellent sources are available including Stanley's paper. See for example, W. S. Lavell, "The History of the Present Fortifications at Kingston," Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Vol. XXXI (1936) : 155-177; Watson Kirkconnell, "Fort Henry, 1812-1814," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXVIII, (July, 1920) pp. 78-88; R. L. Way, "Old Fort Henry: The Citadel of Upper Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXXX, No. 4, (April, 1950): 148-69.

[34] Daily News, Kingston, April 1-2, 1870.

The Garrison and the Community

What then, was the relationship of the British garrison to its sister community. Generally, it was favourable; but not without a considerable array of tarnishing blights. At times, the residents of a garrison town worshipped the Imperial regulars, while almost simultaneously begrudging their apparent aloofness. To the troops, the townsfolk represented a pretty face, a non-uniformed companion or a ruthless foe. While relations were never completely harmonious, they were at least tolerable and often were bred through mutual respect.

When British troops, with the exception of a few companies of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment,[35] were withdrawn from Kingston for service in the Crimea, the *Daily British Whig* suggested that despite any trivial mischief attributed to the troops, ". . . everybody in Canada wishes them back again."[36] The editor's statement was a rebuke intended for the editors of the New York Herald who had earlier suggested that the redcoats,

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[35] The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment was a unique North American unit which was patterned after other colonial corps around the world. The Rifles were composed of British regulars who possessed records of good conduct over fifteen years of service. They were enlisted in the regiment in order to combat desertion, a rampant plague at border stations. With special amenities and privileges, enlistments were numerous. As it turned out, the Rifles spent most of their time in garrison at Kingston.

> . . . have rendered themselves equally obnoxious in Canada; the men breeding debauchery and disorder where ever they were quartered, aided by the snobbery of the native aristocracy, fomenting unwholesome divisions of society into upper and lower classes, and aiding essentially to check the growth of a truly patriotic and Canadian spirit among the people. . . . To Canada, the withdrawal of the British troops will be an unmixed benefit.[37]

While many Kingstonians and indeed Canadians may have agreed with the "Yankee" scribe, the Whig editor, on behalf of his clientele who undoubtedly represented the upper classes, questioned his colleague's sanity and asserted that ". . . a pride and an ornament to good old Kingston . . ." was gone.[38]

Whereas the departure of a regiment was often an emotional disappointment, the arrival of a new corps was anxiously anticipated. Each new regiment was assimilated into 'the life' of the town with relative ease. Both the town and garrison benefitted from the social and economic interaction which ensued. Massey identified a significant advantage for the town:

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[36] Daily British Whig, Kingston, June 2, 1855, p. 2.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., July 11, 1855, p. 2.

> The establishment of a British military force in one of the communities of Upper or Lower Canada was looked upon with general favour by the pioneers. It meant . . . that the garrison provided a source of hard cash, a market for farm products, and perhaps the nucleus of a more sophisticated social life.[39]

Since the British North American garrisons were not ensconced in defended strong points for the control of a hostile population, they tended to be placed in a position in which to foster social intercourse with the local inhabitants. One of the most visible reflections of this social intercourse was manifest in the practice of leisure pastimes. Sport maintained a high profile in most military garrisons throughout British North America, albeit primarily a product of the officer élite. However, it was frequently non-sporting influences which conditioned the course of garrison-community relations.

Characteristic of the arrival or withdrawal of a British regiment at a Canadian station was a celebration in which the troops were addressed by the local statesmen. The town orators ceremoniously lauded the troops and welcomed them into what was portrayed as a friendly environment. While residents outwardly showed elation, not all soldiers were convinced that the reception was genuine. Upon returning to Halifax after serving the Queen in the Crimea, one soldier found Haligonians cold and unsympathetic toward the British soldiers. After listening to the address of the mayor, he elected to contact the Nova Scotian and voice his disdain. The soldier wrote ". . . that addresses of this nature are, now-a-days, so commonplace that, by the soldier, they are received more as a moral observance than the real sentiments of a people." On behalf of his comrades he only asked ". . . that some acknowledgement of [their] services, similar to that which is being, [he] might almost say daily, rendered to the troops arriving at home, might be extended to [them]."[40] The Crimean veteran was at a loss to explain why he and his comrades were treated so coldly by the inhabitants of Halifax after having suffered and died on foreign soil in order to preserve Britannic sovereignty.

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[39] Massey, Canadian Military, p. 10.

The relationship between the garrisons and the community was not always favourable. At times, responsibility for the disharmony rested with the military personnel themselves whereas the civilians also appeared to create the problem. Disagreements and arguments covered a broad spectrum of areas. Regardless of their specific nature, they had a detrimental impact on the social cohesion of the garrison setting. Disharmony caused discontent and discontent fostered abuse, and both parties suffered. For sport, a social activity that thrived on cohesiveness, the situation became somewhat threatening. In fact, the sporting event itself was occasionally the scene of frustrated aggression.

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[40] Nova Scotian, August 4, 1856, p. 6.

Sometimes, the 'military character' itself was to blame. Generally, the rank and file bore the brunt of the community's wrath. Many of the problems were associated with drink. When intoxicated, soldiers often engaged in unruly conduct which resulted in abuse and injury.[41] While newspapers usually dismissed the soldiers and placed the blame on the infamous grog shops, certain patrons of the tavern were not as complacent. Soldiers were assaulted after leaving these establishments, and since normally outnumbered and forbidden to carry weapons of any kind by officers commanding, they were frequently battered. Ultimately, transients and lower class toughs received the blame while military personnel received the blows.[42]

The fighting that resulted tarnished the reputation of the troops, even if it was not their doing. Conversely however, the soldiers could engineer their own brawls and often did. Particularly at Halifax, where a substantial naval station was located, army and navy pugilists were likely to square off. Officers were not exempt although their aggression was more refined. Duelling, between military antagonists or military and civilian foe, was deplored until abolished by the Duke of Wellington in 1848.[43] Nevertheless, the belligerent character forged by brawling became recognized as an evil which pervaded the ranks of any armed body of men. The soldiers of the Queen were no exception.

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[41] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, July 11, 1838, p. 3.

[42] See for example the British Whig, Kingston, November 24, 1847, p. 3.

The military character was also tainted by frequent episodes of mischief that became associated with the troops. Whether it was soldiers on guard duty pelting stones at passers-by,[44] returning warriors of the Crimea who continued to act as if they were in an enemy's country,[45] or seamen of the men-of-war whose disorderly conduct on shore was a matter of course,[46] military personnel caused concern. Of less individual control but equally perplexing for the townsfolk were indecent exhibitions at the military baths, a problem over which the other ranks should have been absolved from blame.[47] Officers angered civilians too. Prior to leaving Kingston for Bristol in 1848, several industrious officers

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[43] Nova Scotian, May 27, 1847, p. 166; Sir Daniel Lysons, Early Reminiscences, London: John Murray, 1896, p. 222.

[44] Nova Scotian, May 28, 1860, p. 4.

[45] Montreal Gazette, June 30, 1856, p. 2.

[46] Nova Scotian, June 21, 1861, p. 3.

[47] Montreal Gazette, July 26, 1866, p. 3.

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combined to collect unique souvenirs, signposts and knockers from the town's more established shops and residences.[48] At times, the wayward military character failed to endear the troops to the hearts of the townspeople.

Whereas it was natural for civilians to detest such irregular behaviour, the characteristic 'military' way of life was also held in contempt. In the mid-1830s the Maritime provinces were in a state of economic depression. In a feature serial depicting the state of the province, the Nova Scotian, while not intending to undervalue the benefits which Halifax derived from the expenditures of the British Government, identified some attendant disadvantages:

> The garrison expenditure here is very considerable; but the whole tendency of military society in a town like this is towards habits of idleness, dissipation and expense. We have colonels, majors, captains and subalterns - all having fixed incomes provided by the Crown - many of them gentlemen of fortune, and polished manners; and some possessed of talents calculated to make them fascinating and attractive in every circle where they appear. Intercourse with such men must necessarily have an effect upon the manners and minds of those with whom they associate; and if our population would be content to borrow only what was estimable - to copy only what was worthy of imitation, we might derive from it a great deal of good and but very little harm.[49]

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[48] Daily British Whig, Kingston, January 1, 1849, p. 2.

[49] Nova Scotian, July 30, 1834, p. 232.

While most assuredly a product of the difficult economic forecast, a certain hint of jealousy also emanates from the statement. Whereas the financial gloom is temporary, the inner tension manifest in a critical appraisal of the officers' lifestyle suggests a certain sincerity and permanence.

The military character of the nineteenth century Imperial forces contributed to the crumbling of relations in several ways. Although military crime was never greatly disproportionate to civilian figures, various incidents received special notoriety nevertheless. Whether the case was rare, such as a suit against a soldier for breach of promise,[50] or grave, such as the frequent robberies and assaults,[51] or terrifying, such as rape, sodomy or murder,[52] newspapers harshly singled out the culprit and sometimes construed the criminal action as indicative of the army way of life. Stories about crimes committed against their fellow soldiers were widely circulated.[53] Despite the relative infrequence of military crime, transgressions engendered poor relations.

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[50] British Whig, Kingston, September 25, 1837, p. 2.

[51] See for example the Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser, May 15, 1770, p. 160; the Nova Scotia Gazette, October 24, 1786; Nova Scotian, January 18, 1826; October 15, 1849, p. 335; September 10, 1855, p. 3; September 2, 1863, p. 3. These are simply representative Halifax samples dating from 1752 to 1871. Many more were of course listed. Montreal and Kingston reflect similar occurrences.

[52] See the Nova Scotia Gazette, July 17, 1781; Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser, April 28, 1753; and the Daily News, Kingston, January 17, 1866, p. 2.

The troops were condemned even for duties they were required to perform. Those duties which succeeded in raising the ire of townsmen the most were usually requested, ironically by the municipal authority. Suppressing riots was a common form of quasi-police work for which armed troops were often utilized. In Montreal, the municipal police chiefs depended greatly on the troops. Political violence was commonplace and in 1832 soldiers shot and killed three civilians in dispersing rioters during an election in the west ward. A jury later ordered the arrest of the captain commanding the detachment which fired the fatal volley, and also the commanding officer of the regiment. Several companies of another regiment were subsequently sent down from Quebec and although the indicted officers were later acquitted, the military received a certain blacklisting at the hands of the civilian population. In 1853 a similar, religion-related riot broke out over the professions of one Gavazzi, a travelling cleric who suggested strong anti-Catholic reform. When ordered to assist the civil authorities, troops returned the random fire of an attacking mob with a deadly volley. Eleven Montrealers were slain.[54] Again two officers were arrested and the 20th Cameronian Regiment was vehemently chastised. After incidents where the regimental band was verbally chased out of the theatre, crowds taunted off-duty troops from outside the barracks, and the men were engaged in numerous brawls, a local editor suggested that the regiment be transferred to another garrison. On behalf of an innocent unit, the scribe challenged that the ill-will expressed toward the Cameronians was both misdirected and grossly unjust. As a result of the fray he concluded that:

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[53] Montreal Gazette, August 8, 1848, p. 2.

> Her Majesty's troops have always been popular in this city, but we much fear that the present change of feeling will result in assaults of more serious character than the above.[55]

The Cameronians, who had arrived from Gibraltar only in May, one month prior to the rioting, received a shocking welcome. Sport would be the furthest thing from their minds.

The military role, regardless of its intention, was acceptable only as long as troops did not infringe upon the lifestyle of their Canadian neighbours. Even ball firing, or rifle practice, was feared because of the possible danger of an overshoot. Whether balls threatened to hit a cow grazing on the Barriefield Common[56] or narrowly missed a gentleman sailing on the North West Arm,[57] it represented a contravention of those rights reasonably allowed the troops. This would not do and strained relations between the town and the garrison were the result.

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[54] Ibid., June 9-20, 1853; July 11, 1853, p. 2.

[55] Ibid., August 16-17, 1853; September 15-16, 1853.

Even the troops' accommodation was questioned. Independent barracks which were built and furnished at Imperial expense were acceptable. However, any appropriation of local housing was begrudged. When extra troops were requested by the Canadian Government, such as during the American Civil War, the civil population often became annoyed when the newly arrived troops were billeted in local commercial establishments. At Halifax, in December, 1850 "a destructive conflagration" consumed the army's North Barrack and forty adjacent houses. At the time, the military were praised for their untiring efforts in extinguishing the blaze.[58] Nevertheless, in January, when the Halifax Hotel was appropriated for three years by the government to house garrison officers the Nova Scotian regretted,

> . . . the immoral tendencies of locating the officers in the centre of the city. To our very limited comprehension, this step is calculated to improve the conduct of the military - if improvement is

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[56] Daily News, Kingston, May 21, 1864, p. 2.

[57] Nova Scotian, October 14, 1829, p. 335.

[58] Ibid., December 16, 1850, p. 386.

> necessary; for the libelled parties have by the present arrangement been brought nearer to the Police office and more within the influence of public opinion.[59]

Although somewhat humourously dismissing the question, the Nova Scotian recognized the genuine discontent of some Haligonians.

Because the military role was defensively oriented, several precautionary restrictions, primarily with respect to property, aroused civilian resentment. At Halifax and Kingston, military by-laws which forbade construction on the commons at the foot of the citadel glacis were a particular vexation. Obviously, from the military point of view, a clear field of fire was required.[60] Soldiers were often restricted from civilian establishments as well. The Nova Scotian exclaimed on July 18, 1870 that the military authorities had placed four Halifax streets on the prohibited list. A survey of contemporary garrison orders suggests that owing to disorderly conduct, street restrictions were common:

Garrison Morning Order:

Town Major's Office,
Halifax, N. S.,
April 16, 1863

> The Colonel Commanding regrets to learn that some serious disturbances took place in the Public Streets last night, and in which several soldiers of the garrison were concerned, he desires that Piquets from

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[59] Ibid., January 13, 1851, p. 10.

[60] Ibid., September 6, 1838, p. 283; November 4, 1841, p. 347.

the Royal Artillery, 2/16th and 2/17th Regiments of the following strength will Patrol the Streets in the upper part of the Town from ½ past 6 until 11 p.m. daily until further orders. They will arrest and take to their respective Corps any disorderly Soldiers whom they may find, and disperse any number that may be collected together. [troops were confined to barracks until further orders].[61]

Garrison Orders:

Town Major's Office,
Halifax, N. S.,
April 20, 1863

The Colonel Commanding directs that the Troops in Garrison shall upon no account at any time pass through Barrack Street, Albermarle Street or the neighbourhood of "The Blue Bell" Public House until further Orders.

As ample time has now been afforded, Officers Commanding Corps will send into this office by 9 a.m. tomorrow, the names of any men they may have discovered to have participated in the disturbance which took place in the Town on the night of the 16th instant.[62]

Garrison Orders:

Town Major's Office,
Halifax, N. S.,
23rd April, 1863

The Colonel Commanding with a perfect reliance on the good sense and the orderly behaviour of the Soldiers, has determined upon releasing them from confinement to Barracks at 3 p.m. tomorrow, but thinks it necessary to observe that strong and irritated feelings exist against them on the part of a considerable number of the lower Class of People in the City -

He hopes that the Soldiers will abstain from frequenting the Streets in the Upper part of the Town, and from entering the small Public Houses to Drink, where advantage would probably be taken of, and the same acts of violence towards them be repeated -

He would advise them not to walk about singly,

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[61] Halifax Garrison Orders, PANS, MG 12 HQ, Vol. 108, pp. 263-4.

[62] Ibid., Vol. 108, p. 273.

> two or three together will always be a protection, but he positively forbids them from carrying sticks to defend themselves with -
>
> Patrols will be established for their protection which will be accompanied by Police . . .[63]

Garrison Orders:

Town Major's Office,
Halifax, N. S.,
9th May, 1863

> The Major General Commanding prohibits the Soldiers of the Garrison from entering the Small Houses on the Upper Town Road, and Officers Commanding Corps will instruct their Regimental Police to see that this Order is efficiently carried out, and Confine any Soldier who infringes it -[64]

Episodes resulting in restrictions such as these fostered poor relations.

Civilian expectations too became the sources of aggravation between the parties whenever they were contravened by the Imperial regulars. The regimental bands, for example, usually provided a regular source of pleasurable entertainment for the townspeople. Accolades were constantly heaped upon the military musicians, and their recitals became a matter of course. At Montreal in 1826 however, the 76th Regimental Band did not appear on the Champs de Mars as expected one evening. The absence was the result of a disagreeable circumstance which occurred during the performance of the previous Sunday. Apparently, a local barrister had an argument with a sentinel, and the civilian complained to the regimental commander. However, when the Colonel found the complaint improper and unwarranted, the commander decided to terminate the performances. The cancellation was not well received.[65] The bands were so important in fact, that when the 1851 Halifax regatta was conspicuously devoid of musical airs, the Nova Scotian complained:

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[63] Ibid., Vol. 108, pp. 277-8.

[64] Ibid., Vol. 108, p. 309.

> This is the first omission of the kind that ever occurred at a Halifax Regatta. Lacking the usual accompaniment of sweet sounds, many people, forgetful of the splendid display presented to them, voted the Regatta a bore.[66]

Even sport was influenced by the poor relations that ensued whenever the military was perceived to have shirked its civic responsibilities.

The civilians themselves were equally to blame for straining relations with their uniformed neighbours, perhaps even more so! Assaults on soldiers were common, not only in the local taverns, but even at annual race meetings. At Montreal in 1833 troops were brutally attacked while spectating at the races on three successive days. While a mob surrounded the soldiers inconspicuously and unsheathed and stole their bayonets, other toughs tore down fence planks and then used them to assault the men. Although the local press believed that the soldiers should not be deprived of the few hours of enjoyment they possessed by restraining them from the harmless recreations of the race course, the soldiers' rights were infringed nonetheless.[67] Similar attacks occurred at Kingston and Halifax. In fact, at Halifax, disturbances such as these led to the decline of organized horseracing in the Maritime centre.[68] Echoing the later opinion of a Crimean veteran cited earlier, Pvt. William Neill at Halifax in 1837 succinctly illustrated the troops' plight when he responded by quoting a well known verse to a letter attacking the military for their efforts at a late fire:

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[65] Montreal Gazette, July 3, 1826, p. 2.

[66] Nova Scotian, September 15, 1851, p. 290.

> Mr. Bell is a proof that,
> God and good Soldiers all men adore,
> In time of danger and no more;
> When the danger is o'er, and all
> things righted,
> God is forgotten, and the Soldier
> slighted.[69]

Although actually a breach of military discipline, as Neill stated, since he sent it to the public press without the permission of his commanding officer, the letter is perhaps a most revealing truism relative to the actual source of poor relations between the garrison and the town.

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[67] Montreal Gazette, September 10, 1833, p. 2.

[68] David F. Howell, "A History of Horseracing in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749-1867," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 1972, pp. 29-36.

[69] Nova Scotian, November 1, 1837, p. 249.

It is abundantly clear, however, that despite numerous examples of poor interrelations between the military and civilians, respect, gratitude and harmony usually prevailed. Examples of this harmony, albeit somewhat superficial, were most clearly evident whenever British units arrived or withdrew from a garrison town. Halifax, Montreal and Kingston all exhibited an overwhelming appreciation for the troops on these occasions.

Welcomes were always filled with gaiety as townspeople eagerly eyed the new ranks with certain expectations. Whether the tavern owner attempted to estimate his new patrons, a Canadian 'muffin' her courtships, or a sporting club their new members, the troops were looked upon to inject a certain refreshing flavour in the community. They often did.

Whenever troops came to British North America from abroad a unique aura of mystery surrounded them. While their military accomplishments were widely publicized, their social inclinations were in doubt. Of course, being a British regiment ensured a modicum of social grace and energy. Conversely, if a battalion was transferred from another British North American station, their reputation usually preceded them. When the 79th Highlanders were destined for Kingston from Montreal, local editors published clippings from the Montreal press regarding the attributes of the garrison and emphasizing their record of good and orderly conduct and soldier-like and subordinate behaviour.[70] The resulting welcomes were extremely laudatory. When troops returned to Montreal after a two year absence owing to the Crimean campaign, a tremendous "hoop-la" ensued. The mayor's welcoming address was particularly flowery:

> The intercourse and social relations of our citizens with Her Majesty's troops have ever been marked by the kindest feelings, by mutual respect, and by acts of reciprocal service; and the most gratifying manifestations of their esteem and regard for each other, were given by both parties on the last garrison from this city soon after the breaking out of the late war.[71]

With rare exceptions, departing troops were ushered out with friendly but formal supplicatory remarks. When the 79th Highlanders arrived in Kingston from Montreal, the 68th Regiment left, but not before receiving the city's ". . . heartfelt acknowledgement for the amicable and friendly deportment ever evinced by the officers, and the exemplary, quiet and orderly conduct, on all occasions manifested by the men while amongst [them]."[72] After a five year sojourn at Halifax, the 37th Regiment embarked for England, but not before receiving an address which praised " . . . the friendly and obliging conduct of the officers, and the regularity and good order kept up among the privates . . . ."[73] This suggests that perhaps the troops were praised not for their contribution to the community, but rather for not causing trouble during their stay. False rumours of departure aroused some pro-regimental sentiment, however, these too may have been simply obligatory.[74] Formal tributes, while certainly indicative of respect for the British units, may have been misleading when used as a measure of good relations.

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[70] Kingston Chronicle, May 30, 1829, p. 2.

[71] Montreal Gazette, June 30, 1856, p. 2.

[72] Kingston Chronicle, June 6, 1829, p. 2.

Perhaps the surest path to revealing the actual validity of statements such as these is to examine the source. Addresses were presented by upper class civic officials and were responded to by officers commanding corps. For these individuals mutual gentlemanly decorum was an expected formality. Conversely, the lower class inhabitants of the towns, those who often encountered disputes with the military, lacked an organ through which to express their disdain. Periodically, anti-military letters to editors were published, but these documented rare, upper class disputes. Excepting the irregular epistle of Private Neill cited previously, the rank and file required a commanding officer's stamp of approval to submit any letter. Complaints or anti-civilian harangues would most certainly be censured. It appears then that 'grass root' relations may have been strained, and that the only genuine harmony existed within the upper society. Once realized by the military authorities, this situation had positive ramifications for the development of military sport.

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[73] Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser, August 4, 1789.

[74] Nova Scotian, January 12, 1825.

Good relations between the ranks and all classes of society did exist however. All members of society realized for example, that the troops were an economic boon to the garrison towns.[75] Whether providing labour by government contracts or tender, hiring labourers to work on military projects, or simply by spending their shillings in the community, the Imperial regulars stimulated local economy. After experiencing remarkable commercial growth in 1847, Montreal lapsed into a financial depression in 1849. While tracing the reason for this reverse, the Gazette recognized that the extraordinary force of British troops stationed in the city at that time occasioned increased spending of official (Commissariat, Ordnance and Quarter Master departments) and casual monies, such that:

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[75] For an examination of the economic impact of the army on the garrison towns see John Philp, "The Economic and Social Effects of the British Garrisons in the Development of Western Upper Canada," Ontario History, Vol. XLI, No. 1, pp. 37-48.

> Our good people mistook this stream of wealth pouring into Montreal for the outlet of a perpetual fountain, while, in truth, it was only the over swollen current of a transient shower, which subsided as rapidly as it had risen.
>
> The British were withdrawn, and with them ceased the current of money circulation occasioned by their movements in the country.[76]

Despite this inherent shortcoming, good relations stemmed largely from military expenditure in the colony. Troops were always anxious to part with their pence, and local merchants were eagerly willing to accept them. This economical interchange assured a certain bond between the two.

At the same time, good relations were the result of labour performed by the military that benefitted the town. When Kingston experienced a shortage of agricultural labourers in 1866, crops lying in the field were threatened. In order to avert the possible blow to the local economy from the loss of the crops the commander of the forces gave permission for the men of the Royal Canadian Rifles to assist in the harvest. Farmers were encouraged to apply to the commanding officer for assistance.[77] Actions such as this necessarily engendered good relations.

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[76] Montreal Gazette, October 31, 1849, p. 2.

[77] Daily News, Kingston, August 18, 1866, p. 2.

Firefighting was a more crucial labour at which the organized military excelled. The exertions of Imperial regulars were praised by their Canadian neighbours. In fact, it became an expected duty. When, in 1836, the Acadian Recorder printed negative comments regarding the military's contribution to firefighting, an "old inhabitant of Halifax" reacted in order to give tribute where tribute was due. While doing duty at fires over the past fifty years with the troops, he always found them to be "the best of men," filling in admirably for the cowardly townspeople who ran away from the fires and the incompetent fire wardens who were merely appointees of political patronage.[78] Not only did the military fight the fires, but troops were also dispatched to protect the exposed property.[79] As a result, the citizens of every garrison town in British North America were always thankful and grateful to the military for their assistance in these times of need.

The military were normally prepared to act in any situation and often came to the assistance of civilians in distress. Rescues were numerous, whether occasioned by the swamping of a boat or an unannounced fracture in the winter ice. At Halifax, in 1870 a sloop of the sailing club was severed by a collission with a much larger vessel while on a pleasure excursion in the harbour. Although three Haligonians drowned, three others were saved when a number of soldiers on George's Island manned a boat with military promptitude, rowed quickly to the scene and rescued the distraught parties.[80]

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[78] Nova Scotian, April 6, 1836, p. 106.

[79] Kingston Chronicle, December 8, 1826, p. 2.

Further praises were heaped on the military for allowing civilians to use privileged facilities. When the military's authority was questioned in Montreal after a man was apprehended for climbing over rails on the Champ de Mars, a local editor was quick to come to its support:

> The military authorities have at all times exhibited a most ready disposition to do everything in their power, that could contribute to the profit or recreation of the inhabitants of Montreal . . . . no restriction has ever been made to people using the Champ de Mars as a promenade, nor even to boys for shinty, foot-ball and other sports . . . .[81]

Montrealers were furthermore allowed to petition the army for the use of the normally restricted St. Helen's Island in the event of a group picnic.[82] Rarely were they refused. At Halifax, military polity led to the free access to restricted docks for spectators whenever regattas were staged.[83] Ultimately, relations were enhanced.

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[80] Nova Scotian, July 27, 1870, p. 6.

[81] Montreal Gazette, September 8, 1851, p. 2.

[82] Ibid., August 19, 1862, p. 2.

Military entertainments were a rousing success and created a degree of harmony between the garrison and town. In Kingston, regiments often invited travelling entertainers to visit.[84] In early Montreal, a sincere mark of esteem and respect was shown by the citizens to the officers of the garrison for an entertainment given at the Masonic Hall Hotel:

> When we reflect on the mutual good feeling which has so long existed between the Military and Civilians in this City - the readiness of the former to promote our amusement, and their prompt alacrity in lending their powerful aid in times of calamitous necessity - it becomes indeed a pleasing task to us to express our great gratification at the compliment offered to them.[85]

Following a rare supper and ball given to the military in Halifax, the Nova Scotian concluded that the people had been so frequently indebted to the garrison for their spirit in getting up public entertainments that it was pleased to see the favour returned.[86] One of the town's most cherished pleasures came from the garrison amateur theatricals. Even though Halifax was sunk in the depths of depression in 1835, and a local editor felt that the town was not in a state to lend much support to theatricals at the time, he asserted that the patronage of the garrison alone was sufficient to support an establishment in which the actors received no pay and outfitted themselves.[87] But such praise was not restricted to Halifax. At Kingston in 1829, the 79th Regiment received permission from their colonel to erect a theatre in the rear of a local hotel. One month later an advertisement announced the premier performance. Although Kingstonians could not conceive the quickness and thoroughness of the preparations, they did appreciate the military venture and expressed thanks for providing the much needed entertainment.[88] The relief of winter evening tedium was assured.

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[83] Nova Scotian, October 15, 1849, p. 333; September 15, 1851, p. 290; July 30, 1855, p. 1; June 30, 1856, p. 5; August 5, 1861, p. 2.

[84] Daily British Whig, Kingston, September 4, 1849, p. 2.

[85] Montreal Gazette, May 25, 1826, p. 178.

[86] Nova Scotian, February 17, 1831, pp. 54-5.

When the 83rd Regiment arrived in Kingston in 1838 in response to the earlier rebellions, the colonel sought to "engender and harmonize social feelings." He resolved to have the regimental band play in the town during the week on summer evenings.[89] The unit's commander made a wise choice. The regimental bands were inimitable ambassadors of the garrison communities. After several recitals the Chronicle and Gazette commented on the much appreciated tradition:

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[87] Ibid., April 16, 1835, p. 122.

[88] Kingston Chronicle, October 10, p. 2; November 7, p. 3; November 14, p. 2; November 21, p. 2; December 5, p. 2, 1829.

[89] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, May 16, 1838, p. 2.

> These and other acts of courtesy on the part of the officers of our Army contribute to strengthen those feelings of goodwill and friendship which happily exist, and which should always exist, between our gallant soldiers and their fellow subjects in civil life.[90]

The bands' presence was felt throughout the community. At reviews, balls, cricket matches, regattas, skating carnivals, horseraces, picnics, parades, theatricals and numerous sundry events the bands accompanied the action. From the constant examples of bands being advertised as an accompanying feature of sporting events, particularly cricket, one might be led to suspect that the musicians were equal in spectator drawing power to the athletes. One must remember that they were, indeed, a very prominent aspect of the social life of the community in any garrison town.

The civilians too, endeavoured to foster good relations with the Imperial regulars. During the Crimean War, Haligonians organized a public meeting to raise funds for wives, widows and orphans of soldiers. Because the citizens of Halifax owed a deep debt of gratitude to the united services for assistance rendered, this was an honourable way to repay it. Since the time had arrived when the troops required sympathy more substantial than mere words, the townspeople saw fit to act. Contrary to the opinion of Private Neill, one officer stationed in Canada in the 1860s found the civilians' hospitality to be unbounded. He professed that " . . . this was common to all Canada, and we soldiers were always hard pressed to return a fraction of the kindnesses that we received."[91]

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[90] Ibid., June 19, 1839, p. 2.

The result was of reciprocal benefit to both civilians and military personnel. Since officers and enlisted men interacted with different elements of the colonial society however, different experiences were realized. Generally speaking, officers mixed with their civilian counterparts favourably whereas at times relations between the rank and file and the lower classes were somewhat strained. Despite problems between the garrison personnel and their hosts, relations were good. A regimental surgeon who accompanied his troops to Kingston witnessed an increasing degree of popularity toward the unit. He felt that the regiment was well conducted and that Kingstonians were staunch in their British feelings, well disposed and friendly. Since he perceived the main elements of kindly sentiment present on both sides, it was easy to realize them and develop a degree of mutual attachment.[92]

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[91] Sir Desmond O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1925, p. 23.

An atmosphere soon developed that was conducive to sporting interaction. Indeed, sport was often used, particularly by the military, to foster good relations. It was often on the sporting field that soldier and civilian realized the most congenial aspect of their relationship. Both parties were aware of this. Even in an 1838 article in the United Service Journal the point was stressed.[93] While explaining the necessity for recreational activities among the troops, the author identified the need for presenting entertainments to the public in order to provide relaxation in their dreary lives, and thus contribute to the development of amicable feelings. Therefore, the garrison looked to the community for a home and found a suitable and friendly environment. For the townspeople, the military personnel were a source of protection, comfort and entertainment. Together, the garrison and the community co-existed with mutual feelings for one another, both positive and negative. Sport was a reflection of these relationships.

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[92] Pat Hayward (ed.), Surgeon Henry's Trifles: Events of a Military Life, London: Chatto and Winders, 1970, p. 233.

[93] United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine, "Military Games and Pastimes," March, 1838, Pt. I, p. 229.

CHAPTER II

The British Soldiers and Sport:

A Biographical Interpretation

Introduction

In order to accurately assess the impact of the Imperial forces on the development of Canadian sport it is necessary to examine the type of military personnel stationed in the colonies, both the officers and the rank and file. By utilizing the diaries of these personnel an attempt will be made to gain an understanding of the soldiers themselves and their colonial experiences, especially with respect to sport. Ultimately the chapter will provide a portrait of the Imperial regulars in British North America and their involvement in local sporting activities.

First, the background of the troops will be examined. The officers were quite distinct from the other ranks in this sense and this difference was manifest in sport. Then, the colonial lifestyle of these two groups, distinct from one another and the colonists, will show marked responsibilities with respect to duty and leisure time. Owing to their colonial posting the soldiers developed numerous expectations that were ultimately transformed into definite opinions. These, in turn, resulted from the personal experiences of the troops, both positive and negative. It was these experiences, especially those of a sporting nature that patterned the lifestyle of the British troops in Canada. Through the use of biographical sketches, the chapter will provide an overview of the lifestyle of the Imperial regulars in the British North American colony, especially with respect to sport.

The impact of the involvement of the Imperial forces in Canadian sport was largely affected by the characteristics and lifestyle of the personnel themselves. Although few generalizations concerning the personalities of nineteenth century British military men can accurately be drawn, certain deductions may be ascertained by examining the backgrounds and experiences of the soldiers.

While foreign duty was commonplace in the British Army at this time, Canada represented a posting unlike any other. As a result, soldiers in garrison in British North America forged a unique lifestyle unlike those of their comrades in Madras or Melbourne. Although the troops may have been similar in many ways when they boarded their transports in Cork, by the time they had wintered in the North American colony they represented a new breed. The men's expectations were the products of preconceived notions of the Canadian clime based on the experiences of others. Yet, upon landing in the colony, the realities of garrison duty commenced and what had been mere expectations were transformed into opinions, concerns and ultimately, real life experiences. These, in turn, shaped, and were shaped by their quest for sport.

The quality of life in the British Army was perhaps the paramount variable influencing the soldier's level of involvement in sports and amusements. Prior to Waterloo, life for both officer and enlisted man could be harsh, punctuated, albeit infrequently, by relief in England subsequent to a notable victory in the field. The victories at Trafalgar and Waterloo sealed the fate of France and guaranteed British colonial and trade supremacy. These military triumphs, combined with new economic theories and the industrial revolution, substantially undermined the theory of Imperialism. As outlined by Barnett, who surveyed Britain and her army, these changes prompted a new strategic application of the army itself and, in turn, resulted in dramatic changes regarding the lifestyle of the British soldier:

> After 1815 therefore the British Army's role was very different from in the century after 1715. It was no longer needed, however intermittently, in struggles against great powers, or in deliberate imperial expansion. Nevertheless the existing empire, irrelevant though it now seemed, had to be garrisoned and its frontiers protected against . . . unrest.[1]

Garrison life, the predominant duty of Barnett's decayed British Army, signalled a period of transition and transformation that would alter the very foundation of service tradition.

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[1] Correlli Barnett, Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1970, pp. 272-3.

Despite a newly-found social grace for officers and social tolerance for other ranks, garrison life in Canada could often be a harsh life of boredom. In 1834, the government member who introduced the annual army estimates in the British Parliament declared that owing to long overseas duty, the English service in peace time was more severe than that of any other European nation in time of war![2] In tracing the social plight of the British regular in Upper Canada during the 1840s, Philp presented a similar glimpse of garrison life:

> The British soldier in Canada lived under conditions hardly conducive to high morale. His working day seems to have consisted of drills, parades and guard duty. Barracks and quarters were in a chronic state of disrepair. At times troops were quartered on civilians or crowded into poorly-ventilated store houses or stables.[3]

Whereas the Parliamentarian and the later historian offered a rather dismal portrait of garrison life, the majority of historians and several servicemen relate a more pleasant atmosphere. Theatricals, fancy dress balls, hunting, fishing and other recreations were often enjoyed by the officers and other ranks alike, although officers admittedly enjoyed a distinct advantage. Colonel Wolseley found life in Montreal during the 1860s "blissful":

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[2] C. P. Stacey, Canada and the British Army, p. 52.

[3] John Philp, "The Economic and Social Effects of the British Garrisons in the Development of Western Upper Canada," p. 47.

> We had very successful garrison theatricals in the winter, and many were the sledge expeditions we made into the neighbouring country. Altogether, it was an elysium of bliss for young officers, the only trouble being to keep single. Several impressionable young captains and subalterns had to be sent home hurriedly to save them from imprudent marriages.[4]

Furthermore, in Wolseley's opinion, Canadians "lavished hospitality upon the Imperial redcoats who fortune had suddenly thrown down among them in such numbers."[5] While the rank and file, whose lifestyle in garrison would have been considerably different from that of officers such as Wolseley, may not have realized such an "elysium of bliss," British North America did have its advantages. Despite the omnipresent tedium of garrison life in the army, Canada provided a readily accessible avenue of respite.

Perhaps the most salient determinant of life in the British Army during the period of Canadian colonialism was the rapport, or lack of rapport, along the chain of command. Notwithstanding an occasional reference to an example of outright congeniality between officers and other ranks, most officers, by choice or dictum, remained aloof from their men.[6] Spurr, in examining the Kingston garrison, concluded that this was a result of the belief that an officer was "a being from another world, a gentleman,"[7] whereas the other ranks were drawn from the depths of British society. Similarly, a dichotomy of recreational pursuits was accepted by the rank and file, although often begrudgingly. The officer, financially and often physically removed from the men, occasionally reinforced his élitism through sport.

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[4] F. M. Wolseley, The Story of a Soldier's Life, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904, Vol. II, pp. 115-6.

[5] Stacey, Canada and the British Army, p. 123.

The dualistic nature of life in the British Army during the period of Canadian colonialism has been well documented. Generally, the officer élite forged a distinct social niche with his civilian equals. For the rank and file, life in Canada was marked by a certain degree of antagonism between them and their associates, the lower classes. At the same time, while duty necessitated a certain degree of congeniality, the military detachments sent to British North America exemplified the very definite class orientation that existed in Great Britain. Within the military cadre, a distinct caste system functioned which effectively discouraged excessive fraternization between the officers and their charges. At the same time, the colonial peace and general lack of duties precluded frequent association between the two. Often, officers were housed in private residences and except for occasional parades and inspections, rarely interacted with the troops. While this evidence suggests a pragmatic reason for dissociation, the notion of the military caste was evident.

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[6] James A. Roy, a Kingston historian maintains that a Scottish Battalion, the Camerons, experienced unusually close relations between officers and men. See: Kingston the King's Town, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1952, pp. 141-3.

[7] J. W. Spurr, "The Kingston Garrison, 1815-1870," Historic Kingston, Vol. 20 (1972):21.

While comparatively few British officers exploited their superior position with reference to the rank and file, the military way of life was simply not conducive to overt interaction. The over-riding pursuit of efficiency and discipline undermined any attempt to democratize the army institution:

> The average British officer was a decent enough fellow, but unfortunately, except in the orderly room or on parade, he seldom came into contact with his men. Some officers would have liked to encourage games, provide reading matter, and give occasional lectures, but the idea was impracticable. The standard of education, if not of intelligence, was too low, the gap between the classes too wide. . . . any attempt to narrow the gap between the officers and the men would have been misconstrued by the higher military authorities and regarded as a dangerous attempt to democratize the Army.[8]

In the field of sport, however, this class consciousness was often ignored. Whenever economically practicable, officers and other ranks competed freely. In cricket particularly, mixed elevens were common as were matches pitting the officers against their men. It was not uncommon for the other ranks to prevail.

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[8] Roy, Kingston the King's Town, p. 148.

Although such interaction was not common prior to the army reforms of the 1830s, it became an important element of army morale after that date. Unfortunately for the men, not all commanders recognized the need for recreative pastimes. Those who did however, earnestly attempted to imbue their colleagues with a similar belief.

The correlation between a unit's morale and sport was frequently illustrated in contemporary military writings and the United Service Journal often championed the cause. In 1843, one article examined the errors and faults in the military system.[9] The author, Colonel Maurice Firebrace, a notable reform officer, criticized the old theory that encouraged officers to fill up the hours of a soldier's life with something so that he might have no leisure. Firebrace explained that this was in effect a major problem with enlistment. To the sound, young men required by the army, constant duty without recreative leisure did not represent an attractive lifestyle. According to the author, the situation seemed hopeless until Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief of the army intervened on the soldiers' behalf. Lord Hill perceived that there were in fact other things besides money to improve the condition of the soldier and raise him in the scale of society. Friendly interaction between the officers and their men, especially through sport, was a major component of Firebrace's notion of reform:

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[9] Col. Maurice Firebrace, "On the Errors and Faults in Our Military System," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, August, 1843, Pt. II, pp. 537-45.

> While the late Commander-in-Chief thus opened the way for the expansion of the mind [regimental libraries], the healthy exercise of the body was also cared for. Cricket matches were formed in the regiments, and fives' courts built in the different barrack yards. The first person I recollect in the Army who encouraged athletic games among the men, and associated them in healthy sports with the officers, was the late Duke of Richmond, excelling himself in all gymnastic exercises, he had a pleasure in seeing the same pursuits followed by those under his command. These associations endeared him to the soldiers, while it never, for a moment, produced familiarity, or trenched, in the smallest degree, on the proper respect due from the soldier to his officer. I have known several instances since of commanding officers who followed this example. I might name a personal friend of my own, who now commands a regiment in Canada.[10]

Firebrace may very well have been speaking of another frequent Journal contributor, Lt. Col. Sir James E.

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[10] Ibid., p. 543.

Alexander of the 14th Regiment. Alexander encouraged sports for his men, particularly when the occasion induced interaction between the soldiers and their officers. While stationed at Kingston in 1841, he organized a repeat military trial of "manly exercises," ostensibly for the promotion of British spirit, as indicated by the Chronicle and Gazette on September 22. To facilitate the proposed events, Alexander had gymnastic poles, leaping and vaulting bars, tilting posts and other sundry pieces of equipment erected in front of the palisades of the fort. While Alexander and two other officers directed the events as the Committee of Management, judging was entrusted to three sergeants. The events were restricted to enlisted personnel and prizes consisted of woollen shirts, socks and handkerchiefs. No liquor was contested for as was often the case, but rather, each competitor received a coupon for a pint of beer. The event was a total success and the day's amusement ended without quarrelling or drunkenness.

The officers of the regiment and the United Services of Kingston defrayed the expense of the events and this attracted the attention of the local newspaper editors. The Chronicle and Gazette had witnessed several similar amusements and concluded that ". . . for a trifling subscription it is evident that considerable advantage must accrue to the Service in general by promoting these competitions."[11] On

September 29, the Montreal Gazette informed its readers of the fact that these public exhibitions, established by Alexander, took place monthly ". . . for the improvement of the non-commissioned officers and men of the Army and Navy in the various athletic and manly exercises." Alexander concurred, and emphasized the importance of good officer relations with their men, particularly through sport, in an 1842 article on desertion in Canada:

> Further, a judicious Commanding Officer, well supported, as he ought to be, by his officers and non-commissioned officers, will do all in his power to promote and encourage athletic and manly exercises. . . . I allow that it is highly injudicious to interfere with the men too much; but everything ought to be put in their way to induce them, spontaneously, to occupy themselves usefully, and to keep them from feeling listless, and inclined to rest themselves, not on their stretchers, but on the bench of a public house.[12]

The relations between the officers and the rank and file were occasionally influenced in a positive way by sporting interaction; however, for the most part, each group forged its own leisure pursuits. This, in turn, was a reflection of the lifestyle of each group, generally representative of a distinct niche in the prevailing social hierarchy. For the

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[11] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, September 22, 1841. For a closer examination of the events, see Appendix 3.

[12] Sir James E. Alexander, "On Desertion in Canada," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, August, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 456-7.

officers, leisure was frequently of a sporting nature. For the other ranks, local sports were often financially restrictive, thereby directing the common soldier to the disparaged leisure to be found in the tavern. It becomes readily apparent how Colonel Wolseley's opinion of life in the Canadian colony would differ so drastically from Private Neill's. Sport reflected this. So too, would the degree of the soldiers' contribution to the development of Canadian sport differ according to their social rank. It would appear that the officer would have much to offer the colony, whereas the private soldier would have little. Surely, an accurate biographical interpretation of the British soldiers' contribution to the development of Canadian sport must distinguish clearly between the officers and sport and, the rank and file and their sporting experiences.

The Officers

Despite what Spurr has labelled as ". . . the real or assumed arrogance of officers,"[13] they nevertheless became the social focus of many Canadian communities. In many instances, the social leaders of Canadian towns came to consider officers as the leaders of the local social and sporting fraternity. In Kingston, the officers of the garrison customarily entertained and were entertained at both formal and informal dinners with whist to follow. Duty was neither extensive nor harsh and hunting excursions, sleigh rides, skating, regattas, cricket matches and races were prevalent throughout the different months of the year. One British officer[14] wrote of "an epidemic of balls" when his regiment first landed on Canadian soil, while another's early reminiscences included frequent winter picnics in carrioles whereat the local 'muffins', unattached ladies, were entertained with a sleigh ride, a dinner and "a merry sojourn home" on the snowy roads.[15] The life of the garrison officer in Canada may have been militarily tedious, yet as remarked by historian Richard Preston, his background ensured a unique social status, especially in a small town like Kingston:

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[13] Spurr, "The Kingston Garrison," p. 22.

> The garrison officers came from British social classes that were only sparingly represented among the immigrants to the colonies, except by blacksheep remittance men and retired pensioners. The officers therefore gave a certain social uplift to Kingston. They entertained lavishly and gave balls and dances. Ambitious mothers eagerly sought among them for marriages for their daughters that would reflect on their own standing in the local society. But the officers were not all mere social butterflies. They were fond of the theatre, they attracted professional companies to the city and they gave performances themselves. They read

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[14] Frederick Harris D. Veith, Recollections of the Crimean Campaign . . . also Garrison Life in the Canadian Lower Provinces, Montreal: 1907. pp. 107-8.

[15] Lysons, Early Reminiscences, p. 63.

> books. They brought to Kingston the vigorous breath of another world and of a cultured society which many local society leaders knew only through books, or newspapers, or hearsay.[16]

This enviable lifestyle may be attributed primarily to the officers' social upbringing. Many were products of the British public school tradition. The muscular Christian as exemplified in Hughes' Tom Brown's School Days epitomized the spirit and strength of character of England's finest men. Militarily, a public school education was consciously related to success on the battlefields and in the garrisons of the Empire. With reference to Tom's friend East, a Rugby master suggested that potentially, he would make "a capital officer."[17] Sport was the natural testing ground for meeting challenges head on, and giving all of one's self to the task with honour and fair play. British officers carried this tradition with them to posts around the world. It was inevitable that their schoolday sporting pastimes would be transplanted in Canada as well.

The majority of officers commissioned in the British army during the period under study were essentially aristocratic. Officers were generally recruited from the

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[16] Richard A. Preston, "R. M. C. and Kingston: The Effect of Imperial and Military Influences on a Canadian Community," Ontario History, Vol. LX, No. 3 (September 1968):106.

[17] Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days, London: Macmillan Company, 1856, p. 276.

'landed interest ' and the system of recruitment in vogue produced a self-perpetuating group which some felt hindered the development of professionalism in the service. Open recruitment, based on criteria that emphasized the need for individual merit and ability, was discouraged in order to preclude the possibility of recruitment from the lower classes. The association between 'officer' and 'gentleman' was still a vital component of the leadership corps of the army.[18] The Adjutant-General, Sir John MacDonald, stated in 1840:

> It is the proud characteristic of the British Army that its officers are gentlemen by education, manners and habits, that some are men of the first families in the country, and some of large property, but the rules and regulations of the service require strictly that they should conduct themselves as ought gentlemen in every situation in which they may be placed.[19]

Active recruiting of officers was not necessary except when warfare necessitated increased numbers on the rolls. Normally, the social status which accompanied the Crown's commission was a sufficient inducement. In questioning the level of professionalism associated with gentleman commissions, the Quarterly Review illustrated this automatic social attainment in 1848:

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[18] Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, The Army in Victorian Society, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977, p. 12.

[19] Ibid., p. 16.

> It is reasonable to assume that officers coming chiefly from the higher and middle walks of life, have received in their youth the ordinary education of gentlemen. But in what walk of civil life can people get into positions of importance on the mere assumption that, being respectably born, they must have been duly educated.[20]

But this social standing was not obtained without some monetary sacrifice. Those interested in obtaining army commissions were required to purchase them. Merit or ability played little or no part in the award of commissions except in the Royal Engineers and the Royal Navy or during times of rather sustained warfare. Unless a junior officer could continue to purchase advanced commissions, he could expect to stagnate in a lowly rank for fifteen years or more. While periodically coming under fire from radical politicians and military reformers alike, the purchase system was supported by the majority of the officer corps throughout the period under study. The system was simply part of the army life which aspirants to the officer corps were forced to accept. Civilian critics, particularly the London Review, often complained about the unjust nature of the purchase system, but had little impact on the tradition itself. Supporters of the purchase system maintained that it was fair owing to its impersonal quality. The Earl of Cardigan rose to the command of a cavalry regiment in just seven years but his meteoric rise was purchased for the unfathomable sum of £20,000.[21] The editors of the Montreal Gazette questioned the validity of the purchase system as early as 1826 when it came to their attention that the situation of a military officer became more unfavourable as he advanced in his profession, when considered with reference to the sacrifices which his rank had cost him.[22] At the same time, a captaincy in command of a company of a regiment of the line cost £1,000 yet the annual income of the rank totalled only £216. Obviously, the purchasing officer was of necessity independently wealthy.

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[20] Ibid., p. 17.

Until 1871, when the buying and selling of commissions was abolished by the Cardwell reforms, nearly all officers could be expected to be men of 'means'. An officer's pay was never substantial and was looked upon merely as an official honorarium. In fact, the rates of pay laid down in 1797 remained unaltered throughout the nineteenth century.[23] From this meager allotment, officers were required to pay their own expenses. They paid to maintain the officers' mess, the regimental band and their personal uniform and accoutrements. As a result, most officers, or at least their families, were wealthy. At times, the regiments themselves insisted that officers possess a large private income in order to enjoy the normal standard of living of this privileged minority. Thus, officers were expected to maintain the standard of their regimental mess and to bear a due share of the expenses incurred by the entertainments of the garrison.[24]

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[21] Montreal Gazette, October 1, 1866, p. 2.

[22] Ibid., July 20, 1826, p. 2.

[23] Harries-Jenkins, The Army in Victorian Society, p. 90.

The officers stationed in British North America appear to have met this criteria. While some were naturally wealthier than others, all seemed to attain a comfortable level of subsistence. Accounts of officers arriving from Great Britain attended by servants,[25] and the numerous, exorbitant sporting challenges, some reaching £1,000,[26] bear evidence of officer affluence. Because of their wealth, officers could freely indulge in a wide variety of sports in the colony and often realized widespread recognition. One officer of the 7th Hussars gained international acclaim when the New York Spirit of the Times recognized his contributions to the sport of horseracing: "During Captain Shirley's residence in Canada, he has occupied a distinguished position on the Turf, having purchased a stable of horses immediately on his arrival."[27] He later returned to England with thirty-seven blood horses. Local driving clubs too were normally headed by the highest ranking officers in garrison since their prestigous four-in-hands dwarfed the more common singles and tandems of the townspeople. Particularly on the sporting field officers flaunted their riches.

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[24] Ibid., p. 97.

[25] Montreal Gazette, October 22, 1840, p. 3.

[26] Ibid., December 3, 1840, p. 2.

[27] Ibid., December 10, 1842, p. 2.

Rarely did officers complain openly of inordinate prices or a lack of funds. One officer who was stationed in Lower Canada in the sixties mentioned that his brother officers at Quebec were of the opinion that fishing at Montmorenci was impossible because it was twelve miles away and one had to hire a caleche and this was clearly beyond the means of the average subaltern.[28] But this was most certainly an exception. Whereas subalterns may generally have lacked funds, their superiors had ample monies.

Besides representing a certain wealth, officers were generally assumed to have come from a distinctly British walk of life, one that ensured a certain heritage. Educationally, the public schools became the training ground of this officer élite. The officers' disposition toward sport may be seen to have been a product of this educational background. Occasionally, direct evidence of the public school heritage can be found to support the portrait of the Rugby character East. In an 1862 cricket match in which the military of Canada opposed the United

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[28] O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, p. 34.

States at Hoboken, New York, the Montreal eleven that represented Canada boasted Captain Northey of the 60th Rifles, formerly the Captain of the Eton eleven.[29] Two years later the Montreal Gazette reported that on June 17 a cricket match would feature an Etonian eleven versus the World. Seven of the eleven Etonians were military officers. The following year the garrison of Montreal defeated the 'public schools' eleven, several of whom were their military comrades.[30] Owing to this heritage, a certain demeanor was considered to permeate the British officer which in turn, afforded a pleasant, cordial and even jovial disposition when he associated with foreigners. While at the Kingston Naval Dockyard, Captain David James Ballingall of the Royal Marines discussed this unique aspect of a British officer's character with respect to sport:

> The Indians are very fond of being taken notice of by British Officers who in Deer hunting and the sports of the country are invariably attended by the Indian pathfinders of the forest for several days together. On such excursions the ease attending this familiar association and good fellowship which ever accompanied the hilarity of the chase are no where so strongly evidenced to a more exuberant degree than among the Sons of the British Nimrod, be it in company with the turbaned game-finder of the asiatic jingo while in

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[29] Montreal Gazette, August 12, 1862, p. 2.

[30] Ibid., June 15-16, 1865, p. 2.

> persuit [sic] of the mighty lion or the Red Man, hunting the more timid deer in the snowy tracks of the Canadian forest.[31]

While Ballingall's statement may be representative of the relaxed, easy going lifestyle which characterized British officers of the period, his suggestion that these soldiers disported themselves around the globe is indeed accurate. They were a transient population, a feature which conditioned in part their attitude toward, and relationship with Canadian sports. Often, an officer would have just become a familiar member of the local sporting fraternity and then be removed with the transfer of his regiment. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, one Captain Routh was a prominent figure in the organization of Montreal horseraces. As the Town Major he enjoyed a permanence which, unlike regimental officers, enabled him to become deeply involved in the annual races.[32] In reality, this familiarity was a luxury which few officers realized. Even general officers such as the Honourable James Lindsay, who spent nearly a quarter of a century in various Canadian stations promoting the social enjoyment of the colonists, were somewhat transient as a result of internal transfers.

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[31] Captain David J. Ballingall, "Diary: Kingston, 1841-2," Kingston: Douglas Library Archives, Queen's University, p. 111.

[32] Montreal Gazette, 1828-1835. Whenever a race meeting was held, Capt. Routh played a prominent role in the proceedings.

Because of the temporary nature of their tour of duty in North America, officers hesitated and usually declined invitations to join local community clubs. Thus there developed the phenomenon of garrison clubs. The local garrison club would prevail regardless of the unit that happened to be in the station at the time. Each regiment was essentially its own sports club although garrisons comprising several units would frequently compete as a garrison team. With respect to the officers, the transient nature of their lifestyle inhibited to a certain degree their impact on the sports clubs of a particular community. The Kingston Cricket Club, for example, would hesitate to elect a president from the military establishment who might suddenly leave the town. Such lack of foresight would most certainly detract from the organization and ultimate effectiveness of the club. As a result, surprisingly few military officers served on the executives of local clubs. Perhaps this minimized their contribution to Canadian sport!

As a largely transient population, the garrison lifestyle of the officers was mostly inner-directed and functioned independently of the community in which they resided. This meant, simply, that the garrison officers experienced a unique standard of living or quality of life that was uncommon to their civilian neighbours. They rented the finest residences in the community or were housed in the best hotels.[33] Occasionally this bred contempt.[34] The quarters of officers frequently bore an air of luxury and were indeed characteristic of the 'life of leisure' that many seemed to experience.

Officers' diaries show a great deal of travel throughout the North American colony. While an annual extensive leave, usually to the United States, was common, most British officers found time to travel to Niagara, Montmorenci and other notable locations or cities several times each year. In 1840, the Montreal Gazette identified the relationship between these annual leaves and the sporting passion of British officers, citing a party of seven local captains and lieutenants who had recently left for Missouri in order to participate in buffalo hunting and other sports for which the prairies of the west were celebrated.[35] While these extended forays were common, excursions of a shorter duration were even more frequent.[36]

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[33] Lysons, in his Early Reminiscences, p. 64, explains that he and his fellow officers were quartered in the Quebec Gate Barracks. Not all officers lived off the station.

[34] See for example, the Daily News, Kingston, February 27, 1864, p. 2, and the Nova Scotian, January 13, 1851, p. 10.

[35] Montreal Gazette, August 4, 1840, p. 2.

[36] The papers and diaries of Sir Charles Chichester cover that officer's career in the British Army, principally in Canada and the West Indies. While in command of the 81st Regiment in Canada, he constantly travelled throughout the colony. See Sir Charles Chichester, "Diaries, Letters and Miscellaneous Items," Ottawa: P.A.C. MG 24, F 31 (A 514-16).

Many officers, especially Royal Engineers, travelled extensively as part of their duties. When ordered from Montreal to Bothwell, Ontario for a stint of duty in February, 1866, skating enthusiast Lt. John Talbot Coke managed to stop at Kingston, Toronto, Niagara and London in order to test the local ice surfaces.[37] A diary kept by Lt. Arthur H. Freeling of the Royal Engineers during a tour of duty in Canada during the 1840s yields little information on military installations but is replete with examples of travel ranging from the Canadas to New Brunswick.[38] While such officers travelled to perform certain duties, leisure pursuits were a normal corollary of their trips.

Whereas excursions of this nature were frequent, everyday leisure was commonplace for British officers serving in North America. Their lifestyle was marked by constant periods of recreation interrupted intermittently by stints of duty. During a period of depression in 1834, the editor of the Nova Scotian perceived this constant leisure as a mark of idleness and ultimately a poor example for the young men of Halifax.[39] It goes without saying that the work patterns and resulting lifestyle of a garrison were directly conditioned by the military duties and responsibilities it must assume. In the North American colonies these were generally sparse. Upon arriving at Halifax in 1823, Sir Charles Chichester epitomized the military lifestyle in time of peace, particularly during the winter months:

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[37] Lt. John Talbot Coke, "Diary: Canada East, 1866," Kingston: Old Fort Henry Library, 1866.

[38] Lt. Arthur H. Freeling, "Diary: North America, 1839-1844," Ottawa: P.A.C. MG 24, F 72.

[39] Nova Scotian, July 30, 1834, p. 242.

> . . . no where more than in North America during the winter as the severity of the climate puts all drill completely out of the question [is duty relaxed]. Guards come round about once a week and that was the only public duty required from us . . . the rest depended entirely on the different Commanding Officers and I regret to say it was a very easy going set — this sounds pleasant enough but it is not so in reality what is understood in the army by an easy going.[40]

The recollections and diaries of other officers support Chichester's contention. Wednesday, January 3, 1866 was a typical day for Lt. Coke:

> Went to Notman's [a Montreal photographer] at 1 o'clock to be photographed had some done in Winter Clothing and one for the letter [sic] for C [his fiancée]. Drove Tandem in my sleigh, getting a horse from Alloway for Leader. Riscon went with me. Went round the mountain. Thermometer 12°. The first time I have ever driven Tandem but got on well enough without any mishap. Went after to the Rink and skated till 6.

The officers winter was marked by a cessation of nearly all duty. The result was constant leisure. The officers enjoyed friendly dinners and whist parties, numerous "snug little dances," and occasional balls. Then there were the tandem clubs, curling clubs, and snowshoe tramps whereat officers strove for personal enjoyment. Hunting was almost a daily ritual and lengthy trips were common. Neither were the summer months devoid of leisure. Garrison cricket clubs practised daily. Lt. Freeling was predisposed to horseback excursions and his behaviour suggested an addiction to racquets.[41] There was almost no limit to an officer's leisure time.

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[40] Chichester, "Diary," 1823, no page.

However, such abundant leisure time was not always appreciated by the officers. Many expressed a feeling of boredom whenever an entire month would pass with no event of any moment to mark it.[42] Even annual leave was often boring. When he observed that the regimental physician returned to duty six days before his time, tired of his leave and eager to rejoin, Chichester remarked that he was pleased that others besides himself found it a difficult task to get through a month's "pleasuring".[43] Chichester found the pace of garrison life unbearably tedious. He once commented that: "It must be a quiet sort of life we lead when a game at rackets is a thing to note down."[44]

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[41] Freeling, "Diary," December 21, 1841; August 15, 1844; November 11, 1844.

[42] Ibid., November, 1841.

[43] Chichester, "Diary," July 11, 1844, p. 114.

British officers went to great length to counter the boredom of garrison life. Periodically, leisure was combined with duty. For a transient Royal Engineer such as Lt. Freeling, this was easy enough.[45] Others like Chichester, whose station was permanent, often had to cancel outings on account of the unannounced arrival of superiors. He was however quick to provide for them and return to his sporting intentions.[46] Theatricals were frequent diversions, especially during the winter months.[47] Not surprisingly, the performances of the garrison amateurs were often petitioned for by the townspeople. Soon after being appointed by the Admiralty to reactivate the presence of the Royal Navy on the Great Lakes in 1838, Capt. Williams Sandom saw the need to stimulate Kingston society. A well-organized aquatic excursion for two hundred and fifty guests to the Bay of Quinte, aboard the war steamer H. M. S. Traveller, was the first of many pleasure parties arranged in order to enliven Kingstonian life. The captain was naturally showered with accolades.[48] Sir James Alexander even saw fit to warn prospective North American officers of the tedium of garrison life in the United Service Journal. He wrote that hunting "scrapes" were most effective diversions.[49]

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[44] Ibid., July 27, 1846, p. 77.

[45] See for example, his diary for the months of July-September, 1839.

[46] Chichester, "Diary," July 15, 1844, p. 112.

[47] See for example, the Montreal Gazette, January 12, 1867, p. 2; Nova Scotian, December 1, 1862, p. 3; Kingston Chronicle, April 17, 1830, p. 2.

Sporting pursuits were indeed the most common diversions used to combat boredom. Freeling passed the month of February, 1841 without anything particular to mark its progress. Office work prevailed, relieved by riding and racquets to make the time pass quickly. Chichester attended the Montreal Fall Race Meeting in 1839 and offered a similar opinion. The events were "creditably got up" but fell far short of a British gentleman's expectations. Nevertheless, the Colonel of the 81st Regiment opined that ". . . although there is no very great fun in these second rate races still when you have nothing to do, and the day is fine, one may as well ride there as anywhere else . . . ."[50] Perhaps the Canadian sporting scene was perceived as the most acceptable aspect of an intolerable setting by many British officers. Such a conclusion would significantly colour any appraisal of their contribution to the development of Canadian sport.

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[48] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, July 18, 1840, pp.2-3.

[49] Sir James E. Alexander, "Summer and Winter Deer Shooting in Canada West," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, August, 1845, Pt. II, p. 505.

[50] Chichester, "Diary," October 18, 1839, p. 234.

Hearsay and recorded opinions such as those evinced in Alexander's United Service Journal writings created certain expectations by officers destined for the North American colony. Generally, they expected to become the central figures in the exclusive world of the local establishment. This was normally realized. The uniform of the British officer alone permitted him to strut around with a certain eclat. Perhaps those most influenced by these dashing foreigners were the young ladies of the garrison communities. This in turn, fostered what was to become the officers' greatest expectation - romance. When British troops were reportedly destined for Canada after the cessation of hostilities in the Crimea, the southern New York Commercial Advertiser assumed that their presence ". . . will be a blessing to the ladies of Canada, as it is well known that more officers marry while stationed there, than at any other station."[51] While the Canadian ladies were extremely amorous, the pursuit of romance was fully reciprocated by the soldiers too. One Kingston man illustrated a local example in 1808:

> Your uncle is still laying siege for the

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[51] Kingston Daily News, March 8, 1856, p. 2.

> fair Miss H. Smyth but I doubt of his succeeding to gain a Compleat Victory until some of those military cut are removed from here; they are continually dangling after her, and the whole of her Sex seems to be partial to the Scarlet.[52]

Sport provided a common vehicle for the realization of these expectations. A sleighing outing was usually non-eventful unless a buffalo-robed 'muffin' was at an officer's side. They usually were. In 1861 an Indian writer visited the Montreal gas-lit skating rink and was particularly attracted to General Sir Fenwick Williams and two aides there; he was surprised that the General and his staff were very attentive to the ladies.[53] The diary notations of several officers suggest that romantic interludes were expected as a matter of course.

Sporting expectations were also evident. A suggestion by Lindsay that the great majority of the officers of these garrisons were English gentlemen who perpetuated in their new country two old traditional loves, cricket and equestrian sports, is borne out by the writings of these men.[54] One officer landed at Halifax after an arduous five week Atlantic passage and immediately noted that Nova Scotia was a country abounding in life and gaiety, with plenty of shooting and fishing. He asserted that the setting could scarcely fail to prove attractive to a young subaltern, especially a single man.[55] It is certainly enlightening that his immediate reaction concerned his leisure pastimes.

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[52] Richard A. Preston, Kingston Before the War of 1812, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. cxv.

[53] Montreal Gazette, May 1, 1861, p. 5.

[54] Lindsay, "History of Sport in Canada," p. 8.

But not all officers' expectations were unaminously positive. Several expressed a serious foreboding and desired a posting of short duration. Lt. Freeling particularly reflected an inherent morbidity and state of despair. After five months in the colony, Freeling concluded that leaving home for Canada was the greatest trial of his young life, a grief he would never forget. Although happy in Montreal, Freeling cherished ". . . the remembrance of dear home and all its delightful accompanyments [sic]."[56] Five years later, when he finally received orders to leave Canada, his diary clearly reflected his elation.[57] So, while the expectations of many officers were positive and suggest a predisposition toward sport, others, such as Arthur Freeling, were somewhat melancholy. Particularly noteworthy however was Freeling's predominantly sedentary lifestyle. Perhaps he simply required diversions to combat his apparent despondency.

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[55] An Officer, "Some Passages From my Diary in America," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, August, 1843, Pt. II, p. 584.

[56] Freeling, "Diary," December 27, 1839.

[57] Ibid., October 29, 1844.

After functioning within the colony and experiencing the realities of boredom, loneliness, mail problems, financial uncertainty, sports injuries, insects, and unrequited love, officers' expectations became transformed into definite opinions. Not all were negative, but human nature predisposed military authors to record their misgivings. The pessimistic Freeling criticized the "bad" concerts he was obliged to attend.[58] Evening parties were frequent in every station in the colony but Lt. Coke suggested that he only attended the festivities in order to keep himself ". . . in the land of the living and not be thought a slow fellow."[59] He maintained that he did not really care a bit for them. Other officers resented the theatre. While the amateur content may have disgusted some soldiers, most expressed a dislike for the attendant decorum which was expected. Sir Charles Chichester, after presiding at a day-long Montreal court martial, complained of being "buttoned up in full dress" all day and then at the theatre at night.[60]

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[58] Ibid., October 8, 1839.

[59] Coke, "Diary," January 17, 1866.

[60] Chichester, "Diary," July 18, 1844, p. 113.

Canadian sport was also criticized. After returning from hunting trips empty handed, many officers complained that reports of plentiful game were erroneous. But their lack of success may have been due to their inept coursing methods. Chichester once exclaimed that after six years in Canada, his first appearance in the hunting field occurred on a return visit to England. He believed that his fine day and brilliant run could not be matched in Canada. One must question why this knightly figure would not join a local club while stationed in Montreal. Did he not consider the Canadian scene 'up to snuff'? Such a suggestion gains credence when one observes that after visiting a Boston/ Chesapeake pack of hounds after first arriving in North America, Chichester was disgusted with their quality.[61] Apparently the Canadian sports scene was a poor substitute for the pastimes of Mother England. When 1846 orders of transfer intimated that he might not be relieved from Canada until 1849, Chichester mused: "I did not mind it so much before, but my love of hunting has returned, and how am I to get over that time without seeing a fox."[62]

Discontent was not solely manifest over hunting. When stationed at Toronto in 1847, Chichester, a racquets enthusiast, was persuaded to accompany a party on a sleigh trip to Etobicoke Mills. Although he had never favoured sleighing he decided to go. Afterwards, he confessed that he was disappointed with the muddy excursion:

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[61] Ibid., November 3, 1846, p. 70.

[62] Ibid., March 31, 1846, p. 72.

> The scenery was pretty enough, but to me decidedly the inside of a racket court is more interesting. . . . I really was glad when we got into Yonge Street and still more when we got home. I don't think I shall be tempted out again.[63]

To some, horseracing in North America was considered an appalling replication of the English turf. Freeling echoed Chichester when he criticized some of the "foolish" rules of the Montreal race meetings.[64]

Despite several such protestations, most officers complimented the nature of Canadian sports. An unattached officer, Major W. Ross King, asserted that few scenes so easily reached from the shores of Great Britain better repaid a visit than the forests, lakes and rivers of British North America. He was so impressed with the Canadian milieu that he published the natural history of the provinces under the title, The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada.[65] Even the critical Chichester modified his opinions when he returned to Halifax after a twenty year absence:

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[63] Ibid., February 25, 1847, p. 118.

[64] Freeling, "Diary," August 19, 27, 1839.

[65] Major W. Ross King, The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada, London: Hurst and Blacket, 1866.

> . . . I went with Sullivan to his house, he had a splendid head of a moose which he shot himself, those animals according to his account are much more plentiful than they were formerly, the Rifles shot ten last year, they could not have done such a thing in my time, fishing also is much better. . .[66]

Capt. Ballingall concluded that British officers, by their very nature, had a sporting affinity for Canada.[67] Many fellow officers would have agreed!

The British officers came to Canada with a social heritage. This background was fostered in the colony by the requirements of their duty. Expectations were changed to definite opinions once the officers experienced the colonial atmosphere and ultimately, their relationship with the community governed their lifestyle. In turn, the officers' involvement in Canadian sport was affected. Whereas accolades were common, so was community disdain.

When Rear Admiral Sir Charles Ogle returned to England after three years in Halifax, representatives of the town proclaimed that his amiable and benevolent qualities were eminently useful in times of peace in order to strengthen the ties of society. Because of his acts of beneficence and kindness, he became a local champion. The admiral's actions were not restricted by cool calculations of duty, but rather, were characterized by an eagerness to seize every opportunity to promote the interests of the colony.[68] Such praise was common when favourite regiments or commanders were transferred. While many appeared to be merely officious, some were marked by a discernably genuine respect and esteem. When the First Battalion of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, a notable sporting unit, left for the West Indies in 1843, the people of Montreal rallied to praise the officers and men for contributing significantly to the town's amusement during their residence there.[69]

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[66] Chichester, "Diary," June 17, 1843, p. 152.

[67] Ballingall, "Diary," p. 111.

Similar praise was addressed posthumously as well. In pre-rebellion Montreal, a young officer named Lt. George "Jock" Weir of the 32nd Regiment acquitted himself admirably in local equestrian sport. In late November, the Gazette regretfully recorded the melancholy death of the sportsman at the hands of the insurgents.[70] Weir was taken prisoner by rebels at St. Denis upon his way to join his regiment previous to attacking that place. The newspaper solemnly continued that contrary to the usages of war, he was slaughtered in cold blood after being interrogated. The city of Montreal had never witnessed so solemn and imposing a spectacle as his subsequent funeral. All shops and public offices were closed during the day and eight thousand people lined the streets. Eventually, subscriptions were collected throughout Lower Canada and a monument was erected to the sportsman's memory. In December, 1855 a similar sporting requiem was delivered. At the Montreal Curling Club's annual dinner, the usual hilarity was somewhat tempered by the gloomy expression of the memory of those gallant members of the Club who had fallen during the Crimean War. Three officers, including General Markham of the 71st Regiment,[71] were honoured. According to the Montreal Gazette, the mourning was sincere, ". . . but the feeling of deep regret and sympathy was mingled with a just pride that the men who had perished so honorably in the service of their country had been connected with the Montreal Club."[72]

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[68] Nova Scotian, June 16, 1830, p. 171.

[69] Montreal Gazette, October 18, 1843, p. 1.

[70] Ibid., November 25, 1837, p. 2; November 28, 1837, p. 2; December 5, 1837, p. 1; December 9, 1837, p. 2; December 14, 1837, p. 2; January 9, 1838, p. 2.

General relations between the officers and the townspeople sponsored happier commendations. In Montreal, for example, the officers of the local garrison with their bright uniforms and gentlemanly manners were a splendid asset to the community society.[73] Most were socially adept, literate, artistic and athletic; talents which endeared them to the colonists. With reference to the Kingston garrison, Spurr identified an intriguing relationship:

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[71] As a captain in the 32nd, Cornwall Regiment, in 1837, Markham was a friend of Lt. Weir and a very successful equestrian. Ironically, he was severely wounded in the leg by rebel shot at St. Denis and later received two dangerous wounds in the neck while being removed from the field. They were the only British officers to be seriously wounded in the lower province.

[72] Montreal Gazette, December 18, 1855, p. 2.

> I assume it is obvious that the gentry of Kingston would have had comfortable foreknowledge of each relief, and, too, that they would have had a reasonably exact appreciation of its social and sporting potential. Many of its members were retired officers, and many were allied by birth or marriage to service families. The important point is, however, that this was the class which confidently expected to be entertained in turn, and it is not to be doubted that their knowledge of each new mess was little less than encyclopedic.[74]

The colonists expected a certain contribution to the local society from the officers, and often received it. In return, they offered the military a special social allegiance.

For their numerous entertainments, the upper strata of Canadian communities were largely indebted to the British officer corps. Adele Clarke examined old Montreal society and concluded that the officers united the character of the city. Unlike the old days, post-garrison Montreal society had gradually developed into numerous sets of people, who scarcely met each other and were occupied with thoughts and avocations quite dissimilar.[75] It must be considered rather surprising that a group of nomadic visitors could provide such continuity in a foreign land.

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[73] Atherton, Montreal, 1535-1914, Vol. II, p. 132.

[74] Spurr, "The Kingston Garrison," p. 18.

This deduction may be applied to the officers' contribution to Canadian sport as well. The soldiers were transient, but they provided an inherent continuity to the often nondescript forms of sport practised in the colony. For this, they received heartfelt thanks. Kingston's Capt. Williams Sandom was not unique as a sporting entrepreneur, nor were the commendations he received from the public. Another naval figure, Commodore Barrie of Kingston guaranteed the continued success of the Montreal Hunt Club by presenting fourteen couple of fine hounds in 1832. With much ado, the club lauded Barrie and immediately announced that chases would now be held twice weekly.[76] In cricket, military men were reputedly fine competitors, but they also provided a certain level of credibility and competence in other aspects of the game. When the 52nd Regiment left Montreal in 1847, the local club mourned the loss of their umpire, a man whose calibre of execution the members were certain they would never again enjoy.[77] As competitors, organizers, officials or spectators, officers were respected by the community. Perhaps the uniform itself conveyed a sense of authority, or the army institution in which these men functioned presented a portrait of pre-eminence. Nevertheless, officers enjoyed a lofty status among their Canadian neighbours, particularly on the sporting field.

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[75] Adele Clarke, Old Montreal, Montreal: Herald Publishing Co., 1906, p. 47.

[76] Montreal Gazette, September 11, 1832, p. 2.

[77] Ibid., April 23, 1847, p. 2.

But disdain also existed. At times, the officer's personality was criticized. As a prelude to the annual 1866 Montreal curling match between the military and civilians, the Gazette hoped that the civilians would prevail, after three successive defeats, in order to ". . . give the bellicose gentlemen what they have never yet experienced - a good drubbing."[78] Whereas this statement suggests a dislike of apparent officer conceit, in reality, evidence shows that most of the military players were in fact civilian militia men, part-time soldiers. The statement was likely a simple promotional 'spur' but certainly arouses suspicion. A more direct barb was published by the Daily British Whig in Kingston. On May 29, 1852 the newspaper reported a meeting of City Council, arranged in order to give a public testimonial to the departing Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. The resulting address was somewhat antithetic:

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[78] Ibid., February 19, 1866, p. 2.

> The Regiment is unquestionably a fine one, and composed of gallant soldiers; and though some of the officers may be too piously inclined to suit our notions of what constitutes a good officer, still we cannot withold from them the praise of having always commanded the esteem of the people of Kingston by their uniform good and gentlemanly behaviour.

The statement presents an interesting revelation. The city fathers did not maintain a lack of respect for the officers' duty, but rather, questioned their unique military-bred personalities.

Most British officers were well-off and those who flaunted their affluence were rebuked by the local citizenry. Exorbitant spending was not the only potential crime. The officers were resented whenever they appeared to overstep their allowed bounds. In Kingston, the 1852 fall races were announced by an editorial which alleged that the organization of the meeting, and the purses, were solely the result of the untiring exertions of civilians, with ". . . no todying [sic] to the military on this occasion."[79]

At Montreal in 1866, a distraught beau sent a poem entitled "A Romance of the Rink" to the Gazette.[80] The poem was merely a strategem utilized by the civilian to condemn a resident ensign for escorting his girl to the skating carnival. Though the incident ended peacefully, if the author had been asked what he thought of the military impact on the sport of skating his answer may have been unprintable!

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[79] Daily British Whig, Kingston, October 12, 1852, p. 2.

[80] Montreal Gazette, February 26, 1866, p. 2.

Whereas romantic triangles may have been harmless despite their frequency, any inference of political meddling represented a serious affront to the colonial order and authority. In 1844 for example, the Nova Scotian expressed pleasure at learning that the officers of the army and navy had organized the Halifax Auxiliary Naval and Military Bible Society. The apparent praise was not intended so much for the action itself, but rather, for the fact that the soldiers would have less time to meddle in local affairs that did not concern them:

> Officers can thus much more usefully and harmlessly devote their leisure hours than in meddling in colonial politics, in which they have no legitimate concern, and in publishing libels in the newspapers upon the character of public men, 'the latches of whose shoes they are not worthy to unclose.'[81]

Such invective was rarely aroused with reference to a sporting transgression. Officers were periodically sanctioned for dominating certain events and facilities but such pronouncements were rare. More frequent were reprimands resulting from hunting overkill. During an eight day spring hunt in 1842, a party of twenty-three officers killed fifty-nine moose. The Nova Scotian was incensed with such useless slaughter bearing the name of sport. The wanton destruction and mindless boasting had become commonplace and marked a pervasive "insane passion, impervious to reason." The enraged editor was not intending to single out the army as the problem, but:

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[81] Nova Scotian, October 14, 1844, p. 338.

> Man's folly and continued childishness, on some points, are exhibited in numerous instances, - but few seem more glaring than that furnished by account of Lieutenant Colonel A., and Captain the Honourable B., and Lieutenant Lord C., with a host of companions, spending days and nights in most plebian fatigue, that they may lay the carcasses of a herd of noble animals to taint the air of the wilderness.[82]

While some of the scorn directed at the military was surely unjust, other examples, such as that illustrated above, were assuredly justified.

Through it all, British officers disported themselves constantly in the North American colony. Their leisure took many forms, and provoked both positive and negative reactions. They were noted for their sporting prowess in most activities and encouraged the improvement of the calibre of Canadian competitions. Officers achieved some notoriety as participants in billiards, rackets, skittles, boating, shooting, riding, fox hunting, athletics and feats of strength. In tobogganing, many officers experienced the thrills and spills of Canadian winter sport. For Sir Desmond O'Callaghan, Montmorenci was a favourite tobogganing venue. As a subaltern, O'Callaghan ascended to the top of the cone and succeeded in an unassisted descent. Whereas most visitors were accompanied down the slide by an habitant who sat in the front of the traino, or short sleigh, O'Callaghan and a comrade each made a solo attempt. O'Callaghan in fact, accomplished the great honour of coasting past the furthest point reached by any traino during the season. As a reward for his feat, O'Callaghan was greeted by an old Irishman who offered to drive his illustrious countryman for all his New Year's calls without charge.[83]

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[82] Ibid., May 26, 1842, p. 162.

In the steeple chase the military were particularly conspicuous. Rare was the occasion when an officer was defeated in any cross country event. Freeling recorded the first steeple chase ever held in Canada in Montreal on October 15, 1840. Lt. Col. Whyte of the 7th Hussars, posted to Canada in response to the rebellion, took the inaugural honours. The Montreal Gazette reported that seven of eleven competitors were military personnel.[84]

Curling was an enigma. Whereas surprisingly few

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[83] O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, pp. 37-8.

[84] Montreal Gazette, October 15, 1840, p. 2.

British officers participated in the sport, those who did usually attained an advanced level of proficiency. Captain Gallway of the Montreal Thistle Curling Club, a Royal Engineers officer, offers a common example. Gallway had never curled prior to his appointment in British North America. Adopted by a "curling Mother," a Mr. Mair, Gallway became an accomplished student of the stane and ". . . had done as much as any man since he had joined them to promote the sport."[85]

Despite these representative successes, the soldiers most efficient skills were recognized on the cricket pitch. British officers were often the premier exponents of the game in many areas of the British North American colony. One author has suggested that the military dominance in cricket was so profound in Halifax that civilian grumblings were often heard, followed by a nominal decline in the sport. Conversely, when civilian teams rarely prevailed, cricket appeared to enjoy something of an upsurge.[86] While the present research failed to substantiate such a causal relationship, the superior military form was clearly evident. Prior to the organization of the Montreal Cricket

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[85] Ibid., December 10, 1855, p. 2.

[86] Robert Moss, "Cricket in Nova Scotia During the Nineteenth Century," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. IX, No. 2 (December 1978):61-2.

Club on August 17, 1843, representatives from Montreal were mainly officers of the garrison. In 1841 for example, a challenge from the Chambly Garrison Club was accepted by an eleven composed of ten officers and one civilian.[87] For the most part, the military's superiority on the cricket field was never questioned. As competitors in most sports activities, officers made fine showings.

At the same time, however, British officers suffered the defeats and humiliations of the common sportsman. Numerous autobiographers related their luckless hunting and fishing excursions, noting with rare humility their frequent fumblings. Lt. Arthur Freeling nearly passed the entire month of October, 1841 without a kill despite numerous snipe shooting forays around Kingston. In July, 1843, a fishing and deer hunting trip was equally frustrating for the Queen's engineer.[88]

The ice rink proved to be the nemesis of many scarlet-clad sportsmen. Lt. Coke recorded on January 13, 1866 that he "got to the Rink by 2:30 and skated till near 6 - I am getting on however very slowly, it is hard to get beyond a certain point." Others' misgivings were the result of injury. While it is reasonable to assume that a certain degree of embarrassment accompanied the officers' sporting blunders and inadequacies, their quest of recreational pastimes was seldom satiated.

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[87] Montreal Gazette, June 23, 1841, p. 3; July 28, 1841, p. 2.

[88] For a description of this excursion, see Freeling's diary notes in Appendix 1, Part B.

In conclusion, the officers' lifestyle was quite marked as compared to that of their Canadian neighbours. They were normally of another breed and maintained a different way of life in the Canadian colony. As a result, their stay in North America reflected opportunities which the average inhabitant of the colony failed to realize. In sports, this meant that the military officers were necessarily leaders, if by their experience alone. Officers engaged in a collage of sport. For his fellow colleagues, Sir James E. Alexander of the 14th Regiment provided a collective portrait of Canadian sleighing and available sports in the United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal:

> For amusements, the military have their usual field-days on the drill ground, their brigade exercise in the country, a garrison theatre, a gymnasium, a racket-court, and a select pack of hounds, to fight against the monotony of 'the bush.'[89]

The sporting pursuits of British officers did assume myriad forms and rarely were the Queen's representatives stymied in their quest for sport. Whether the sport was spontaneous, such as sniping at a great eagle as a sequel to the evening mess,[90] or well-planned, such as a holiday excursion, the British officers revelled in their pastimes.

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[89] Sir James E. Alexander, "A Sleigh Drive in Canada West," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, July, 1843, Pt. II, p. 344.

The officers were quick to learn new sports too. Sir Daniel Lysons appealed to a well-known fisherman in order to receive a few valuable lessons in salmon fishing and tying flies.[91] Many expressed great satisfaction at learning to drive the famous Canadian tandem for the first time.

But surprisingly, British officers tended to avoid indigenous Canadian sports. Whereas unorganized pastimes such as skating and tobogganing were frequently indulged, games which involved team structures were not practised. When lacrosse became the most prodigously growing sport in Montreal in 1867 and subsequently captured the imagination of Canadian sportsmen, the military showed no desire to become involved. Nor were they involved in the sport of baseball during their later years in garrison in the colony. Perhaps these sports evinced a lower class mentality from which the Britishers were determined to remain aloof. But then, the lacrosse boom also captured the interest of the well-to-do. Perhaps the sport was simply too rough for the gentlemanly officer corps. Despite the popularity of cricket, could they have been averse to team sports, preferring the merits of individual competition instead? These sports may have been perceived as a threat to their favourite game of cricket and therefore, were intended to be boycotted. While the precise reason for their apparent disinterest in these sports is not clear, their failure to contribute substantially to their growth is evident.

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[90] Ballingall, "Diary," p. 84.

[91] Lysons, Early Reminiscences, p. 62.

But the officers were sporting gentlemen. They generally passed a pleasant existence in North America and pounced on almost any available sporting opportunity. Duty notwithstanding, the British officer's way of life was leisure-oriented. For the Canadian sports scene, this meant that a definite stimulus was constantly received.

The Rank and File

Whereas officers were predisposed to record their experiences in personal diaries, the other ranks rarely did the same. Prior to the army social reforms, instituted in the 1830s, regimental schools were non-existent. Thus, illiteracy was common within the ranks and few records were kept by enlisted personnel. Of the journals that do exist, few relate Canadian experiences. Even those authored by Canadian-based soldiers tend to explain military movements and rarely document the writer's feelings or his lifestyle. This may have resulted because the soldiers feared censure if their officers discovered any hint of dissatisfaction. It has already been seen that a soldier required his commanding officer's approval in order to submit a letter to a local newspaper.[92] As a result, many of the available comments that reflect on the lifestyle of the other ranks in the North American colony must be elicited from the writings of their officers. This is unfortunate. Nevertheless, it is a fact which must surely condition any biographical interpretation of the common soldiers' Canadian sporting experience.

From available sources, it appears that the rank and file never experienced a lifestyle comparable to that of the officer corps. The private soldier often was recruited from a social class which represented the very poorest and most ignorant Britishers. According to Barnett: "The army was, in a real sense, the only welfare service provided by the British state for the rescue of such unfortunates."[93] As a result, it was customarily believed that standards of physical fitness, intelligence and education were necessarily low, whereas discipline had to be stern and rigid. Garrison life thus became a dread monotony for many common soldiers stationed in British North America. With reference to the Kingston garrison, Spurr maintained that:

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[92] It will be remembered that Private William Neill breached military discipline at Halifax by submitting a letter to the editor of the Nova Scotian (November 1, 1857, p. 249) criticizing the treatment received by the British soldiers. Supra. p. 34.

[93] Barnett, Britain and Her Army, p. 313.

> His daily life was a monotony of drill, guard and look-out duty until the mid-years of the garrison when the army cautiously introduced programmes of physical training and regimental sports. Off duty he was left to his own devices save that he was not allowed to stray far from the town, even to hunt or fish with a comrade, because of the prevailing fear of desertion.[94]

Thus, whereas the British officer could be expected to make a significant contribution to the local social and sporting fraternity, the private soldier was largely denied the opportunity. Prior to the army reforms of the 1830s,[95] the soldier's response to the arduous labour, monotony and prevailing restrictive discipline was frequently desertion. The proximity of the American border and the rumors of the potential rewards and opportunities tempted many. Successful breakaways, often assisted by civilians, were infectious.[96] Even after the 1830s and the modest implementation of social reforms, desertion remained a blight characteristic of garrison service in British North America.

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[94] John W. Spurr, "Garrison and Community, 1815-1870," in Gerald Tulchinsky (ed.), To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976, p. 111.

[95] For a good discussion of the general movement toward reform in the British Army during the nineteenth century see Barnett's chapter entitled "Decay and Reform, 1815-1870," in Britain and Her Army, pp. 272-298.

[96] Preston, Kingston Before the War of 1812, pp. xxxiv, 247.

When the average soldier did receive leave, he was most often found in a state of heavy intoxication. This would suggest that the common soldier had little with which to amuse himself, indicating, in turn, an absence of sport. At selected posts, however, the rank and file were properly amused and even admired by the local population. In early Kingston the soldiers played shuffleboard and nine-pins in local beer and cider houses while unsavoury matrons tempted their shillings.[97] Referring to Kingston in the late thirties, Spurr insisted that ". . . the sailors and marines were at home in the town, where they were not only popular, but much admired for their contribution to the many ceremonials which enlivened Kingston's calendar."[98] Nevertheless, the actual contributions of the British soldiers and ordinary seamen to the development of Canadian sport were apparently limited. Their life in Canada was largely a monotony of drill and guard duty, laced intermittently with participation in several low organization sports characteristic of festive occasions such as the Queen's Birthday.

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[97] Roy, *Kingston the King's Town*, p. 134.

[98] John W. Spurr, "The Royal Navy's Presence in Kingston, Part II: 1813-1853," *Ontario History*, Vol. XXVI, p. 91.

Each year, the Army Medical Department of the British Army gathered statistical, sanitary and medical reports for presentation to both houses of Parliament by command of the Crown. The reports for the year 1859 provided a rather dismal portrait of the condition of life for the rank and file in North America:

> ### Nova Scotia
>
> The cubic space per man in garrison at Halifax had been generally insufficient, but a new barrack, near Fort Needham, would be ready for occupation soon after the close of the year.
>
> Many sanitary defects as to the system of latrines, the want of proper ablution rooms in the citadel of Halifax, and increased means of ventilation in certain casemated barracks, were brought to notice. The means of roasting and baking meat in the barrack kitchens had been defective throughout the Command. Ovens were, however, in course of construction in four of the barracks at Halifax, an initiatary towards a general measure of the kind. Many cases of pulmonary disease having been considered attributable to wet feet on duty - the soldier's ordinary boot being of insufficient fabric to resist thaws and slushes of snow - a provision of what are called American "rubber boots" for the men on guard was strongly recommended by the Principal Medical Officer.
>
> The sickness and mortality in the Command, notwithstanding many sanitary defects yet unmet, proved to be inconsiderable, and were not attributed by the Principal Medical Officer to any general causes or influences susceptible of direct remedy or improvement.
>
> ### Canada
>
> The reports from this Command pointed out intemperance and a want of mental occupation and active bodily exercises as

> causes of disease.
>
> Limited cubic accommodation and a want of means for variety in cooking the men's diet are also mentioned.
>
> The prospective withdrawal of a regiment from the station, would, however, obviate the want of barrack accommodation, as to the public allotment, very materially; and the deficiency of cooking apparatus was to be brought under the consideration of the authorities.[99]

While many British subjects may have studied this and similar annual reports with disbelief, others probably felt that these conditions were actually no different than those realized by the soldiers' civilian peers back home. The army may have indeed represented a form of social welfare, but this did not guarantee that the recruits' lifestyle would eclipse that of their civilian parallel. On the contrary, it was felt that their army existence accurately approached their normal station in life.

The recruitment of men for the rank and file was carried out in several ways. Some were more orthodox than others. In lean times, recruiting parties were frequent where young men were lured into the ranks under the influence of Her Majesty's spirits. Recruits did not represent a cross-section of British society. Rather, the army became an institution specializing in the social welfare of the poor - through enlistment. Many problems associated with the other ranks were the result of drink. However, liquid recruiting parties were all too common and tended to reinforce a way of civilian life, habitual drunkenness, within the army.

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[99] Army Medical Department, Statistical, Sanitary and Medical Reports for the Year 1859, London: Harrison and Sons for Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1861, p. 172. For another sample, see Appendix 4.

In 1899, a Royal Commission published an extensive four volume report intended to be a survey of British military performance during the Victorian period.[100] The report was pungent and scathing. The Commission was particularly critical of the "mindless rigidity" of the rank and file who represented the sweepings of the cities. After the turn of the eighteenth century there was a considerable shift of population from the rural areas to the cities.[101] This radical shift in the centre of gravity of the population was the result of the increased trade of the Atlantic ports and the prospects of employment in the new industrial towns. But the embryonic nature of the economic boom was not significant enough to accommodate the influx resulting from the widespread migration. As a result, many people became stranded in the 'urban jungle'. Many of these men looked to the British Army for deliverance from their life of squalor. Thus the recruits were generally unskilled and frequently of questionable demeanour.

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[100] Harries-Jenkins, The Army in Victorian Society, p. 2.

[101] Anthony Wood, Nineteenth Century Britain, 1815-1914, London: Longmans, Green and CO. Ltd., 1960, p. 6.

Owing to the pitiable social climate in which they were nurtured and lived, many recruits were of poor physique, their appearance was unkempt and their character was suspect. These traits continued to prevail once these miscreants entered the British service. The United Service Journal studied this problem in an attempt to ascertain ways in which the army could be made more popular, and recruiting more efficient and concluded:

> There is no question that the lot of the soldier, taken as it is, is infinitely preferable to the existence which is found amongst many of the lowest classes in civil life; but it is only with these classes, taking one thing with another, that the comparison, generally speaking, can be favourably drawn; and it is, therefore, only from amongst them that the great mass of recruits come. Those of a better description who enter the army, may be said to do so from some impulsive feelings of patriotism —— on which little reliance can be placed under ordinary circumstances; from want of thought; or from some delusive supposition that a strong will, and an average amount of patience will open a road to something they see in imagination beyond.[102]

The other ranks were destined for the lowest niche of society. The prizes of the profession were all too few and for those of common origin, social aspirations of any kind were quite hopeless. Garrison troops in particular could expect few chances of advancement since it was only when the sword was drawn and the strife had begun that a military man could hope to rise.

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[102] J. W. F., "How May the Army Be Made More Popular, and Recruiting More Efficient," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, January, 1858, Pt. I, pp. 1-2.

Life was similar in the North American colonies. For the average soldier there was little hope of advancement in the ranks. After thirty years' service many soldiers were discharged no better off than when they had enlisted, except of course for a nominal pension after twenty-one years of service. The rank and file of the army, even in Canada, were considered ". . . the scum of the earth enlisted for drink."[103] Their living conditions were abominable, especially abroad. The prevailing tendency toward desertion resulted in a lack of confidence expressed by the officers toward the men and this in turn, hindered their freedom within the colonies. As a result, their leisure time was strictly scrutinized. Thus, sporting pastimes required officer supervision and many, such as hunting and fishing, became the exception rather than the rule.

The lifestyle of the men rarely exceeded that of a dread monotony, especially prior to the middle of the nineteenth century when the army authorities cautiously introduced programs of physical training and regimental sports. Because of the austere and often miserable quality of life in the ranks, rigid discipline was required. For most of the period under study, discipline was supported by severe punishment. The practice of flogging in the army was employed extensively to discourage unsanctioned behaviour. Fifteen hundred lashes were not uncommon for even a minor theft and only in 1835 did Parliament lower the maximum penalty to a mere five hundred lashes.[104] The practice of flogging itself was not abolished until 1870.[105] Desertion was severely punished in order to set an example for others. In the early years of the century, a soldier who chose to take his arms and accoutrements would receive no mercy. If captured and convicted, the death penalty often followed.[106]

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[103] Wood, Nineteenth Century Britain, p. 193.

Army pay was poor and offered little incentive for the troops. The soldier toiled for a shilling a day and from this amount was subtracted several pence for food supplemental to his daily provision of one pound of bread and three-quarters of a pound of meat. Further deductions from his gross pay were made for general maintenance and laundry. Thus the soldier was left with a mere two and three-quarter pence a day to be spent or saved as he saw fit.[107] In Canada, the men of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment fared a little better since a condition of enlistment asserted that the soldiers be allowed every opportunity for profitably employing their leisure time in agricultural labour, or in handicraft, when not engaged in the performance of military duty.[108] The commanders of several other regiments followed the Rifles' lead. However, despite such auxiliary income, soldiers never experienced a generous fare. And local pastimes were rarely free of charge. This most certainly restricted the soldiers' involvement in Canadian sport and would suggest that the troops' contribution must necessarily have been minimal.

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[104] Nova Scotian, May 4, 1836, pp. 137-8.

[105] Wood, Nineteenth Century Britain, p. 327.

[106] "Garrison Orders, Montreal, May 16, 1815 - August 24, 1816," Kingston: Massey Library, Royal Military College, Kingston, p. 74.

Drunkenness, desertion and crime were common among the ranks because of the soldiers' dismal station in life. Newspaper reports suggest that all soldiers were drunkards, that most soldiers harboured thoughts of desertion and that much of the crime of a garrison community could be blamed on the military. These characteristics of the lifestyle of the troops were surely overstated but provide a glimpse of the British/soldiers' plight.

But the lifestyle of the rank and file was also painted more favourably. Evidence suggests that the Canadian milieu was even desired by many men. In 1840, a new regulation was pronounced ". . . authorizing the transfer of soldiers, desirous of remaining in Canada, to Regiments destined to remain in these provinces for a longer period."[109] The first unit to implement the new regulation was the 15th Regiment. When the unit left Montreal for Quebec and England on May 30, 1840, two hundred and ninety NCO's and privates boarded the troopship Athol whereas two hundred and seventy-seven men were seconded to other regiments for extended service in North America. The Gazette remarked that the men had ". . . conceived an affection for the colony." When the 66th Regiment embarked for home in October, two hundred men volunteered to transfer their services.[110] Such troop transfers were common until 1871.

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[107] Barnett, Britain and Her Army, p. 280.

[108] "General Orders, Montreal, 1840," P.A.C., "C" Series, RG 8, Vol. 1194, pp. 236-7, (C-3508), Ottawa.

The fact that these transfers were widespread prompts one to question the rationale behind the men's decisions. Many soldiers were likely persuaded by feminine charms. Perhaps the relative peace and tranquility of garrison life in North America appealed to many. Others may have been drawn by slack duties, the availability of liquor or the alluring proximity of the United States. It may have been the amount of leisure in the colony, minimal though it appeared in relation to that realized by the officer corps, appealed to many men. Although each of these reasons surely swayed many, the last is most intriguing in the present study.

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[109] Montreal Gazette, June 4, 1840, p. 2.

[110] Ibid., October 24, 1840, p. 2.

British regulars did experience various leisurely pastimes in garrison in North America. While duties were generally extensive, troops were permitted occasional leave. When a regatta was scheduled for Halifax in 1861, the city corporation appointed the day as a public holiday. In keeping pace with the civilian officials, the Town Major's Office announced that no fatigue or working parties would be furnished that day.[111] Thus the soldiers were free to participate as spectators if not competitors. At other times, the soldiers' leisure was provided for by the military in the form of regimental games. Naturally, all troops in garrison, with the exception of required sentries, were excused duty in order to participate in the events of the day.

Rank and file leisure took many forms. Whereas the most common pastimes were undoubtedly held in barracks, or beer and cider houses, where soldiers played cards, shuffleboard and nine-pins, more healthy, outdoor amusements were promoted. Mackinnon examined the lasting

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[111] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS, MG 12 HQ, Vol. 106, p. 389.

British military influence in Canada and detailed sports as a prominent aspect of garrison life in Halifax:

> Proceeds from the 'wet' canteen, coffee shop and grocery store secured sports equipment. Football was the favourite game with the men . . . sappers of the S. M. [Sub-Mining] section preferred racing with twelve-oared cutters. Indoors a large gymnasium afforded scope for many manly sports. Winter found the more reckless tobogganing down the citadel slopes standing on their heads. For a fee of three pence a month, privates could avail themselves of the reading and games rooms and 'skittles' alley.[112]

Theatre too, presented by troupes composed of NCO's and men, provided much praiseworthy entertainment for the rank and file. Unlike the officers' formal shows, those intended for the other ranks were much less staid. Nevertheless, audiences were filled to capacity and reviews were excellent. Newspapers gratiously praised the soldier-thespians:

> We sincerely believe that there are few Regiments in His Majesty's service which could produce a similar number of equally good performers, especially when it is considered the few opportunities which private soldiers in general enjoy, either in their first education or in after opportunities . . .[113]

In cricket, the rank and file realized a ready avenue of respite. For the competitors, equipment was supplied at regimental expense. For those who preferred to view the match more passively, admission, by regular order, was free of charge.[114]

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[112] Mackinnon, "The Imperial Fortresses in Canada," p. 122.

[113] Montreal Gazette, February 26, 1824, p. 2.

The army further encouraged the recreation of the troops by providing facilities. At Montreal in 1865, the 25th Regiment was engaged in moving a large freight shed which had belonged to the London Steamship Company to the Victoria Barracks yard for the purpose of converting it into a skating rink, ". . . the Colonel and Officers being determined to give their men all the amusement within the barracks that can be afforded to them."[115] The other ranks could not afford to patronize the elaborate civilian rinks nor were they encouraged to wander off base to the open river ice surfaces due, apparently, to the prevalence of desertion. Their leisure sports had to be provided for them if they were to avoid the infamous grog shops.

The lifestyle of the rank and file was marked by frequent picnic excursions as well. Although this was a preferred amusement of the regimental sergeants' mess, the private soldiers enjoyed similar entertainments. At Halifax, McNab's Island was a common retreat. Military excursionists frequently assembled at the Queen's Wharf with wives and sweethearts for the purpose of spending a day in "joyous hilarity."[116] Enlisted soldiers were also invited to enjoin the outings of other groups such as the Charitable Irish Society.[117] At these festivities, the men and their regimental bands were most welcome.

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[114] Ibid., June 7, 1865, p. 2.

[115] Ibid., December 12, 1865, p. 3.

For the other ranks, the most regular sporting diversion was afforded by the semi-annual athletic games. These were usually sponsored by the officers or sergeants of a regiment and normally pitted one corps against another. Inter-regimental games were also frequent. As expected, Scottish or Highland units were extraordinarily adept at these sports as a result of a heritage perpetuated by the famous Caledonian Games.[118] Cavalry regiments too possessed advanced skills, suggesting a superior level of fitness that characterized these troops. Twenty events including putting the shot, footraces, leaping, jumping, throwing (usually a cricket ball) and combative skills were contested. Numerous examples of similar events suggest that the athletic games were an attempt to provide recreation through exercise and friendly athletic rivalry among the various corps in garrison. Such diversions also offered the enlisted man an escape from the tedium of garrison life.

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[116] Nova Scotian, September 13, 1847, p. 291.

[117] Ibid., August 7, 1854, p. 2.

[118] For a discussion of the Caledonian Games, see Gerald Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972.

But duty remained omnipresent. Fatigue and working parties covered a wide range of responsibilities that rarely were exhausted. Thus, the daily regimen of garrison duties was a significant factor in the lives of the British troops in Canada. The duties were diverse but generally routine to the point of boredom. Nevertheless, they were essential to the defence of the colony and therefore required much of the troops' time, thereby directly influencing the amount of leisure time available to the army personnel.

Guard duty, although involving a small number of troops, was a constant garrison requirement. For some soldiers, pursuing leisure at the expense of their lookout duties proved fatal.[119]

Daily muster and drill was an exercise that the other ranks found harassing, especially since their officers were not required to attend and appreciated a few extra hours in which to pursue their favourite pastimes. Occasionally, all troops in garrison were assembled for review. These spectacles created much interest for the local civilians, especially when the presence of the Governor-General called for the most resplendent uniforms to be displayed, but were aggravating to the troops. Civilians were also thrilled by the exciting sham fights orchestrated by the troops in garrison but these simply resulted in extra duty, cleaning arms, accoutrements, equipment and clothing.

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[119] Piers, "The Evolution of Halifax Fortress," p. 6. In 1751 several men were killed in a surprise attack on a blockhouse when the guard was drinking and playing cards.

Much of the time troops were employed as labourers. Despite the fact that civilian labour was considered eminently cheaper,[120] soldiers assisted the Royal Sappers and Miners in the construction and renovation of fortifications. Canadian fortifications were constantly under repair. When John Balmer, a private, arrived for service with his regiment at Halifax in 1848 after previous service in Ireland, the Mediterranean and Jamaica, he commented that:

> Soldiers always find something to do. We helped . . . to finish Fort George in Halifax. Our chief work was on the Glacis. There is a splendid view from here over the city and surrounding country. We were so tanned that compared with the "Blue Noses" we seemed the colour of Indians but we don't mind colour when we enjoy good health.[121]

Every winter, soldiers were required to construct roads across the ice and chop blocks for use during the summer months.[122] At other times, the civil authorities petitioned the military for their labour. Troops were requested for harvesting and even public road construction. In early Kingston one gentleman suggested that wherever the military were stationed they should be employed in building a massive turnpike road, at least when their services were not required for the erection of military works.[123] Garrison orders are replete with examples of daily, weekly and monthly fatigues ranging from the seasonal removal of snow,[124] to the year-round reconditioning of the citadel horse run.[125]

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[120] Despite the discrepancy in cash wages (in 1830 soldiers received ten pence for their day's labour whereas civilians received two shillings and six pence per day), ". . . civilian labour was regarded as cheaper by the military authorities, and was used whenever possible, unless there was at the moment a body of enlisted men surplus to military requirements or unless some other military consideration intervened. The point is that the obligation of military authorities to a civilian labourer extends only for the duration of his employ which may be terminated at will, and is discharged by means of a cash payment only, whereas an enlisted man is victualled and clothed in addition to receiving a cash wage, has had to be trained at the country's expense, and is guaranteed a permanent employment and a

It is interesting to note here that fatigues were often ordered to develop sports facilities too. Outdoor skating rinks were annually constructed for the troops and their civilian neighbours.[126] But the troops usually laboured solely to provide leisure for their officers, a

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pension at the end of a definite period of service." But then certain Royal Engineers preferred military artificers and labourers anyway. Piers, "The Evolution of Halifax Fortress," p. 39.

[121] John Balmer, "Autobiography of John Balmer," Douglas Library Archives, Queen's University, Kingston, April, 1848.

[122] Montreal Gazette, January 16, 1834, p. 3; December 25, 1867, p. 2.

[123] Kingston Gazette, November 27, 1810, p. 3.

[124] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS MG 12 HQ, Vol. 102, p. 138.

[125] Ibid., PANS MG 12 HQ, Vol. 102, p. 228.

duty that was surely carried out begrudgingly.[127] Military floating baths were also constructed.[128] Fatigue parties totalling sixty men or more were frequently issued spades, brooms and ash boxes and ordered to parade on the exercising ground for the purpose of clearing it of stones and other refuse.[129] The troops cleared and maintained the local racetracks too and were seen daily improving the cricket fields. In Halifax, the noble game experienced a lapse between 1843 and 1845. In the latter year, however, the military announced the rebirth of the sport by leveling a plot of ground on the Common and covering it with sod.[130] The practice of refurbishing sports facilities became a common one.

Yet another aspect of the men's duties assumed sporting proportions. Regular training often entailed activities that were actually the favourite pastimes of the civilian populations. Since the troops were likely to be called upon to defend Canada during the winter months, it was deemed important that they attain a modicum of proficiency in the

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[126] Montreal Gazette, February 16, 1863, p. 2.

[127] Ibid., December 11, 1863, p. 2.

[128] Ibid., August 6, 1864, p. 3.

[129] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS MG 12 HQ, Vol. 102, p. 187.

[130] Nova Scotian, August 4, 1845, p. 242.

art of snowshoeing. Each autumn, General Headquarters at Montreal would issue the required ordinance:

> The Ordnance Storekeepers at the different Stations will issue to the several Corps in this Command, Snow Shoes and Creepers in the proportions and on the conditions pointed out in the General Order of the 20th November, 1829.[131]

The subsequent tramps were dutifully carried out despite a measure of incompetence. They were intended as training in an essential skill and were normally held twice weekly.[132] This practice led to the inclusion of distinct military races in the annual races of the civilian clubs. When trouble was brewing across the border in 1862, "An Old Snow Shoer" suggested that it was the local club's duty to provide a sporting experience for the military:

> Hitherto there has been no inducement for soldiers to practice on snow shoes, but now, when they may be called upon at any moment, every opportunity and encouragement ought to be given them to make themselves masters of the manly exercise of Snow Shoeing.[133]

The men apparently did well enough in the march, but did not execute maneuvers very efficiently at the double and required more practice. Target shooting too offered a respite from regular duties. Annual competitions were held in every garrison and civilians were apprised of the required caution that should be exercised.[134] The fitness of the men too was regulated as part of their duties. At Halifax, NCO's and men enumerated in official lists were ordered to undergo instruction. For this purpose squads of thirty men were formed for daily training.[135] Non-commissioned officers clamoured for the opportunity to instruct such classes. Unlike other garrison requirements, few soldiers disliked gymnastic duty.

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[131] "General Orders, Montreal, 1840," P.A.C., "C" Series, RG 8, Vol. 1194, p. 297, (C-3508), Ottawa.

[132] Montreal Gazette, December 5, 1867, p. 2.

[133] Ibid., January 17, 1862, p. 4.

For the most part, however, the duties of other ranks were extensive, and lacked the attractiveness of periodic shooting, snowshoeing and gymnastic duties. Officers were instructed to leave little time for the frivolities which often caused the other ranks to stray.[136] In 1835, Dr. Ferguson, the Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals observed that the lifestyle of the troops adversely affected their morale which in turn led to a deterioration of their general health:

> Of all European troops, our own seem to be the most helpless and listless in their

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[134] Kingston Daily News, April 10, 1867, p. 2. Supra. p. 28.

[135] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS, MG 12 HQ, Vol. 110, p. 217.

[136] Firebrace, "On the Errors and Faults in Our Military System," p. 542.

> quarters. So much is done for them, that, without enjoyment or occupation, they yawn away their time, against which they appear to have no resource but the canteen or the gin-shop. The monotony of the morning and evening parades may be useful as a muster, but the daily repetition, after the soldier has been perfected in his exercises, without any variety, must wear out the patience of the most apathetic. While the soldiers of other nations employ their leisure hours in fencing, gymnastics, and other exercises of strength, ours are lounging idle or muddled, awaiting the hour of their unvaried meal, or the drum being beat for the daily parades. Can any men so spend their lives without experiencing the tedium vitae, even to utter disgust, and seeking the solace of drunkenness, as much to the prejudice of discipline as of health?[137]

Low morale was a blight characteristic of the British Army in garrison in Canada. Sir James E. Alexander maintained that manly exercises were integral to building good morale, especially taking men's minds off drink. Alexander devised his formula with respect to physical activity. Manly exercises bred self-respect, self-respect engendered corps morale, and corps morale induced military pride. It was a simple formula and one that Alexander championed. To him, it was an officer's responsibility.[138]

Others accepted Alexander's rationale but offered cautions:

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[137] Dr. Ferguson, "On the Health of Troops," United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine, August, 1835, Pt. II, p. 526.

[138] Sir James E. Alexander, "Manly Exercises for Soldiers," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, November, 1858, Pt. III, pp. 360-366.

> We are strong advocates for military encampments, reviews, pastimes, and all manly and soldier-like occupations for the Army in general. We do not, however, wish them merely to be considered as holiday sites to satisfy the passing time of idlers and loungers, although such pastimes and pleasures, in a temporary manner, are by no means unpolitical, nor are they without most beneficial effects.[139]

And it was the officer's duty to eliminate feelings of listlessness. Poor morale was inevitably manifest in desertions. Alexander, among others, maintained that the only efficient inhibition that discouraged such illegal flight by the rank and file was sport:

> Further, a judicious Commanding Officer, well supported, as he ought to be, by his officers and non-commissioned officers, will do all in his power to promote and encourage athletic and manly exercise. Cricket-grounds and racket-courts have been wisely ordered for the different garrisons, when they are prepared they will help materially the efficiency of the Service. Besides the outdoor sports in spring, summer, and autumn, of foot-ball, fives, quoits, running, pitching shot, swimming, cricket, etc., it would be well if an empty room in each barrack could be set apart for winter amusements, and keep active spirits out of the debasing tap-room. In this room gymnastic poles, ropes, and ladders, might be put up to trifling cost; the athletes might leap, wrestle, spar, play singlestick or practice the bayonet-exercise with knobbed sticks: a non-commissioned officer, in charge

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[139] United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine, "Military Games and Pastimes," March, 1838, Pt. I, p. 229.

> of the room, instantly checking any ebullition of bad temper.[140]

The men's morale was a genuine concern and sport proved to be a successful antidote to related problems such as desertion. Chichester suggested that simply allowing his regiment to attend a Montreal Rifle Match in 1844 as spectators would do "a great deal of good."[141] Whether amusements did in fact enhance the soldier's personal image is uncertain. Nevertheless, this was a major reason behind the implementation of soldiers' sport.

Unfortunately, little is known of the private soldiers' expectations or opinions with respect to their stay in the colony. Private Neill sensed ingratitude and hostility. Many did indeed experience romantic interludes. The paintings of Cornelius Krieghoff bear evidence of that.[142] The rank and file could not hope to enter local society nor join the sporting fraternity. They were at home in their barrack and in their favourite grog shops but even here opinions are lacking. One must assume from the poor quality of life that they appeared to lead, that their expectations were few and their opinions may have been sullen.

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[140] Alexander, "On Desertion in Canada," p. 475.

[141] Chichester, "Diary," October 5, 1844, p. 28.

[142] J. Russell Harper, Krieghoff, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979, p. 32. The romances of soldiers must have been quite visible for Krieghoff to portray them.

Like their commanders, the rank and file were sometimes the subjects of public accolades. Most were received as part of formal addresses directed to the men prior to their departure from the garrison.[143] Men were rewarded for the duties they performed, particularly firefighting. They were praised for their musical contributions to the town and mourned when they were killed in battle.[144] They were popular and were admired for their contributions to the many ceremonials which enlivened the local calendar. Common soldiers were thanked for their sporting contributions as well, be it as range assistants at civilian rifle matches or as competitors.[145] After the Montreal Olympic Games were successfully completed in 1844 the 93rd Regiment was applauded since men from its ranks entered almost every contest and ". . . put the skill and metal of the civilian competitors to a severe test."[146] They were heralded for their sporting inventions - a new pair of strapless skates invented by Armorer Sergeant J. Buxton of the Rifle Brigade;[147] or an effective hunting firearm designed by another Armorer

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[143] See for example, Montreal Gazette, October 18, 1843, p. 1.

[144] Nova Scotian, July 23, 1855, p. 1.

[145] Montreal Gazette, October 2, 1863, p. 2.

[146] Ibid., August 29, 1844, p. 2.

[147] Nova Scotian, December 16, 1844, p. 415.

Sergeant.[148] But accolades such as these reveal an interesting feature of the Canadian mentality that conditioned, to a large extent, the common soldiers' experience in British North America. Canadians accepted the Imperial regulars for their defence but refused to shoulder any of the burden of the expense. As long as they contributed to the colony, be it socially, economically or strategically, they were welcome. The troops merely represented British charity.

The same can be said for their sport. Whenever the British troops made a contribution to the colonial sports scene they were accepted. Canadians cared not for the British soldier or his well-being, but rather, only what he could give to them.

This conclusion is supported by the numerous, disparaging remarks aimed at the private soldier. The colonists were generally quick to criticize his actions. His character was under constant scrutiny and was often the target of abuse. In 1851 the United Service Journal reacted vehemently against the common colonial practice of deriding the troops. In an article entitled "Our Useless Colonies", the Journal editorialized on the reception which the soldier received: ". . . in Canada he is at frequent intervals displayed to awe the colonists, disaffected from misgovernment, and is therefore exposed to all their hatred and jealousy."[149] Perhaps the colonists were not totally to blame but the troops suffered nevertheless.

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[148] Ibid., February 17, 1851, p. 50.

The troops were not perfect gentlemen, of that we can be sure. Criminals were often spared punishment and even released from prison periodically if they agreed to do their penance in the service of the Crown. Thus the army became an asylum for the scourings of the nation.[150] It may have been this tainted reputation which predisposed the men to constant abuse although their conduct undoubtedly aroused the ire of their Canadian neighbours at times. The natural antagonism that existed between the Army and the Royal Navy resulted in many problems, especially at Halifax. The disturbances which resulted created an animosity between the civilians and the Imperial guardians:

> Some SHAM fights scarcely anything more, have occurred during the last few nights in the Upper Streets, between some soldiers and sailors. There was neither blood or brains split; but these occurrences are now becoming so frequent, that no respectable citizen can walk Northward, after dark, without the risk of being insulted, of which fact, it is

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[149] United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, "Our Useless Colonies," April, 1851, Pt. I, p. 527.

[150] Donald F. Featherstone, All For a Shilling a Day, London: Jarralds, 1966, p. 122.

> hoped, the city authorities will take immediate cognizance and measures to prevent.[151]

The troops sometimes drew public rebukes when they attempted to engage in sporting pursuits too. Naturally they deserved harsh treatment when they used a hunting excursion as a facade for desertion.[152] But one of their favourite pleasures, pugilism, was constantly criticized owing to general community disgust with the activity.[153] Their shooting trials were labelled as dangerous and their indoor sports were questioned since they tended to promote gambling and drunkenness.

The Imperial troops had, of course, excelled in other physical exertions which met the approval of their civilian hosts. Individual performances were often lauded. As cricketers, the other ranks showed finely honed skills. Despite a real or assumed social hierarchy, elevens composed of other ranks frequently defeated their officers. Occasionally it appeared that the men even relented somewhat during their second innings, perhaps so that the officers would not suffer embarrassment.[154] Closer inspection of military matches revealed an interesting division of skills.

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[151] Nova Scotian, July 5, 1847, p. 215.

[152] Kingston Chronicle, October 15, 1831, p. 2.

[153] Montreal Gazette, January 3, 1863, p. 3.

[154] See Daily British Whig, Kingston, August 3, 1850, p. 2.

Based on our knowledge of English public school sport and the officer heritage there, one would suspect that officers would excel. But such was not the case. Although officers appeared to be slightly better batters, private soldiers were normally the finest bowlers. This was not surprising owing to the tradition of English village cricket. The Montreal Gazette reported on August 1, 1870 that the Montreal Cricket Club defeated the officers of the Rifle Brigade 111 - 84. Despite the defeat, the officers' ranks were bolstered by three Rifle Brigade soldiers. Private Weatherall bowled most of the Montreal wickets and Privates Hurd and Crutch boasted the highest run totals among the military competitors. Officers were often dependent on the skills of the other ranks. Nor did the prevailing social order always dictate batting order, although officers usually batted prior to the other ranks. Only in international matches were the rank and file cricketers excluded. Apparently, Canada could not be represented by second class citizens.

The other ranks excelled too at athletics and several champions were heralded. The soldier who carved the greatest notch in the history of Canadian athletics in the nineteenth century was Sgt. McGillivray of the 93rd Highlanders. McGillivray performed conspicuously at the Montreal Olympic Games in 1844. He won both the light and heavy ball throwing events, won the heavy hammer throw, recorded second place finishes in the light hammer throw, the 100 yard foot race, the standing hop, step and leap and the running high leap and barely lost the 200 yard hurdle race which he clearly led prior to tripping over the third hurdle.[155] In the 1845 games, McGillivray won the light and heavy ball events and finished second in the 100 yard foot race.[156] The following year however, the sergeant's regiment left Canada after an eight year residence and his string of victories was terminated.

Another notable Montreal military athlete was sprinter Private John Durkin of the 13th Hussars. Unlike McGillivray, Durkin was a gambler and normally competed for monetary gain. After being defeated by a 25th Regiment private in December, 1866[157] he subsequently forged a successful athletic career. But he became a controversial figure too. He was rebuked by the Gazette on October 4-5 for withdrawing from a long anticipated race with another sprinter. The race was the result of a Durkin challenge to all Montreal yet it was the challenger himself who would neither agree on the time nor the venue for the proposed event. As a result, Durkin created a negative reputation which tainted all military sportsmen. Shortly after the race debacle, a garrison football squad failed to come to the ground to meet their civilian rivals, ostensibly because of poor weather. But despite the inclement weather, the Gazette insisted that the garrison team ". . . Durkin-ed, and did not face the music."[158]

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[155] Montreal Gazette, August 29, 1844, p. 2.

[156] Ibid., August 30, 1845, p. 2.

[157] Ibid., December 3, 1866, p. 3. Durkin lost the 150 yard race for $100 to a Private Hackenly, who was formally trained under a Private Doolan ". . . who appears to have known how to go about it." The prevalence of specific training is rather interesting. As a profit-making scheme, athletics was a popular military pastime.

Durkin enjoyed a lengthy, spotted career which surely few regular soldiers would aspire to. When he joined the 13th Hussars in February, 1858 he was already a pedestrian champion, claiming more than thirty-five victories. His reasons for joining the ranks are not clear. With rare exception, his sporting pursuits were not restricted by his enlistment. In July, 1864 he forfeited the stakes in a 110 yard race when his commanding officer would not allow him to run. But these occurrences were rare and Durkin realized substantial gain as a result of his prowess. During his career he won £292 at garrison and regimental sports exclusive of private matches.[159] This suggests that, barring officer interference, private soldiers' sporting aspirations were not restricted. The only significant criteria seems to have concerned the extent of one's talent.

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[158] Ibid., October 8, 1867, p. 2.

[159] Ibid., March 22, 1869, p. 1.

Although the sporting experience of other ranks never matched that of their officers, they were varied nevertheless. As examined previously, cricket and athletics were the most commonly practised pastimes. Hunting was common despite the prevailing fear of desertion.[160] Sir James E. Alexander pursued two soldiers who used a hunting excursion as a pretext for desertion:

> The Corporal, who was the chief instigator of the desertion . . . borrowed his Captain's fowling-piece, which the latter had sometimes before lent to good men, for the purpose of shooting wild-fowl near the barracks, and thereby affording them amusement, whilst it gave variety to their mess. The Corporal also borrowed . . . a boat from a brewer, to cross to the opposite point of land, where wild-fowl could be more readily got . . . .[161]

They were apprehended but their folly did not restrict the similar sporting experiences of their comrades owing to Alexander's belief in pastimes for his men. Other regimental commanders were not as understanding!

Regattas were popular events among the rank and file.

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[160] Kingston Chronicle, October 15, 1831, p. 2.

[161] Sir James E. Alexander, "A Pursuit Into the United States After British Deserters Charged With Felony," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, December, 1844, Pt. III, p. 531.

Unfortunately for the men, other than at Kingston and Halifax where the Royal Navy was in garrison, the troops often found it difficult to procure the necessary craft.

Owing to the severity of the Canadian winter, duties were relaxed and sports prevailed. Snowshoeing was an activity that combined training and pleasure. Corporal John Teale and fellow soldiers frequently journeyed around St. Helen's Island on the ice in snowshoes in order to relieve the winter tedium.[162] Ice skating was common on outdoor rinks and periodically, the troops were invited to skate at the more formal community indoor rinks.[163] Whereas few common soldiers possessed their own tandems, sleighing excursions were occasionally held. Usually however, only non-commissioned officers enjoyed this pastime. Private soldiers simply did not possess the requisite means.[164]

Indoor sports were commonly practised in the taverns of the garrison communities. The military authorities desired to encourage these activities in order to counter idleness, but were disturbed by the unsavoury qualities of the grog shops. Thus, garrison recreation rooms were constructed and barrack store requisitions included numerous balls, billiard tables, backgammon sets, gymnastic equipment, bats, rackets, solitaire boards, chess sets, dominoes and draughtsmen ~~(checkers)~~.[165] Skittle alleys,[166] fives courts and ball courts were also common. In 1856, troops in garrison at Halifax were encouraged to use the ball court:

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[162] John Teale, "Diary, Montreal, 1863," P.A.C., MG 24, F 69, Ottawa.

[163] See for example, the Montreal Gazette, April 13, 1869, p. 1. Such invitations were, however, rare and one must ask whether the troops were seconded solely to contribute to the entertainment and amusement of the civilian rink patrons.

[164] Nova Scotian, March 16, 1863, p. 3; February 22, 1864, p. 3.

> Garrison Memorandum — Town Major's Office
> Halifax, 1st July, 1856
>
> No. 1 It is hereby notified to the Troops in Garrison that the Soldiers' Ball Court is situated near the Hospital Guard which is at all times opened to the Soldiers during their leisure hours, wishing to play by applying to the Nom Com Officer of the Hospital Guard for the Key: returning the same when done with.[167]

It was intended that the garrison gymnasium would offer similar recreation and a healthy experience. Of course rigid discipline was required in order to ensure a beneficial experience. When numerous colds appeared to afflict the troops working out in the gymnasium, official concern was evident:

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[165] "Barrack and Hospital Stores," Research Document Collection, Halifax Defence Complex, pp. 531-89. (See Appendix 2 for a sample of this document.)

[166] Each Canadian garrison was equipped with a skittle alley or fives court which was normally illustrated on garrison block plans (See Appendix 6).

[167] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS, MG 12 HQ, Vol. 110, p. 217.

> Garrison Orders　　　　　Town Major's Office
> Halifax, 20th March, 1865
>
> 1 — Under instructions received from His Royal Highness the Field Marshall Com^{dg} in Chief, the Major General Commanding directs that Officers Com^{g} Corps will give Orders that Men attending the Gymnasium in Cold or windy weather, take their great coats with them, and wear them buttoned up over the chest and round the neck on returning to Quarters after the Drill - Five or Ten Minutes should be permitted to elapse to enable them to cool themselves before leaving the Gymnasium at the conclusion of the exercise, and Non Com^{d} Officers of Squads will be held responsible that the men go straight to their Rooms, and there, at once thoroughly dry themselves -[168]

Although hygiene facilities may have been primitive, the troops could freely participate in their favourite leisure pastimes and usually did. Only when these activities compromised military efficiency or regimen were they censured. In reality though, the prevalence of desertion and drunkenness among the North American garrison personnel pre-empted the aspirations of many of the rank and file.

In summary, the lifestyle of the other ranks never paralleled that of their officers nor their Canadian neighbours. They were a mixed breed, and were often portrayed in a negative fashion. A United Service Journal article published in 1829 examined the traits of the average private soldier, and presented a disparaging portrait:

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[168] Ibid., Vol. 110, p. 293.

> He was rather an awkward man, but by perseverance in drills, at length became a good and efficient, though perhaps he never was, in the strict sense of the word, a 'smart' soldier. . . . A single trait will probably mark his character more strongly than a volume of words. [He was] of a reserved temper, and, from want of education, unfit to be advanced to the situation of a non-commissioned officer . . .[169]

The model for this capsule portrait, James Mansfield of the 45th Regiment, died of wounds at the battle of Talavera in the Peninsula in 1809, a fate befitting a soldier of the Crown, or so the author of his biographical sketch believed.

While their sporting experiences in the colonies were radically different from those of their officers, they were numerous nevertheless. Many sporting experiences were provided by the army institution itself and were intended as cathartic compensation for their dismal lifestyle. This would explain the flow of garrison orders and requisitions aimed at promoting 'acceptable' forms of leisure for the other ranks. They were neither leaders nor entrepreneurs in the mosaic of Canadian sport and thus perhaps their athletic epitaph would emphasize one signal trait - that they were avid competitors whenever the opportunity to play presented itself.

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[169] United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine, "Traits of a Private Soldier," August, 1829, Pt. II, p. 208.

The Biographical Interpretation: A Summary

The preceding chapter has been an attempt to examine the subjects of this inquiry, the British military personnel, against the historical background of nineteenth century Canadian society and Canadian sport. In attempting to determine whether or not these primary actors contributed to the sport history of Canada prior to 1872, it is important to appreciate the personalities or "functional mentality" of the military, especially with reference to sport.

The military represented checkered backgrounds. While the officers were generally aristocratic, the rank and file could be petty criminals coerced into the ranks. But the officers had both the means and the leisure time to participate in local sports. They always did and often enriched the field of competitors with their presence. For Canadian sport, this was certainly a boon.

However, in the Canadian colony, the regiments were transient. Even when units remained in Canada for a decade they were continually transferred to different communities. This minimized their potential contribution to the development of Canadian sport.

One must therefore conclude that although the British soldiers were generally predisposed to sport, their overall contribution may not have been as great as previously suggested. They rarely intentionally bolstered Canadian sport, but instead, used existing sport forms for their enjoyment in response to the tedium of garrison life. They functioned within the army institution, an institution which largely conditioned their contribution to the development of Canadian sport.

CHAPTER III

The Military Clique and Sport: An Institutional Interpretation

Introduction

The officers and other ranks that were posted to British North America did not exist in a vacuum. As soon as they entered the colonies they were invested with influences which were similar to those experienced by the colonists. But a greater influence prevailed over them which shaped, to a large extent, their colonial lifestyle. That was the British Army itself, an institution that was the result of centuries of tradition. But the military tradition is not germane to this chapter. Rather, the army institution can be defined as the organization of the army, an institution unto themselves. The purpose of the chapter is to examine the manner in which the soldiers' lives were shaped by their affiliation with the military, especially with regard to sport.

Thus, not only is it essential to examine the control or influence that the army exercised over the men's lifestyle in general, and the army's published opinions regarding the troops, but it is also necessary to realize the army's perspective on sports and amusements. Did the Imperial forces have a stated philosophy regarding the implementation of regimental sports and, if so, did it result in the adoption of specific policies relative to equipment and facilities? Furthermore, was the sporting interaction between the garrison and the community affected by the army's stand on the merits of sporting activities? Finally, how did this attitude affect the colonists?

The British Army was organized to protect the Crown and to promote Imperialism. It did both admirably and while doing so, developed a tradition of stability and cohesiveness through which it gained renown. A distinct military character was forged and in turn, the British Army became a formidable institution. The troops were organized in such a way that they could react immediately when and where required. This action took many forms. Whether the troops were quelling a rebellion on the northwest frontier of India, building fortifications on Bermuda or firefighting in Canada, they showed remarkable discipline and a superior level of organization. And this expertise was not restricted to regular duties. It was a characteristic that marked the army way of life, including the troops predisposition towards sport.

British officers and other ranks experienced a leisurely existence in the North American colony despite the daily toil of garrison duty. They pursued many pastimes, including sport. But for many of them, especially the rank and file, the extent of their sport was conditioned by the army itself. Despite their individuality, the Imperial regulars still functioned within the army institution. Even sporting pursuits were regulated. In fact, much of the common soldiers' sport was a product of army regimen.

So too, Canadian sport can be viewed as an institution. Whereas sport in Canada was diversified, each sporting activity represented a certain level of organization. As an organized body of disciplined men, the military would expect a modicum of organization in any sport in which they would become involved. If a certain sport were not organized, did the military personnel establish their own structure within a regimental movement, in the form of a garrison club? What types of sports were pursued by garrison personnel? For example, did they only support highly-organized sports since that was essentially representative of the nature of the army as an institution? Did the military display a heightened interest toward an activity that could potentially be organized? If so, did this increase their influence on the development of colonial sport? At the same time, did the inherent army structure suit the early form of spontaneous sport in Canada rather than the emerging trend toward regular play which characterized Canadian sport by the 1870s? Perhaps the organized nature of the Imperial forces limited the extent of their potential contribution to the development of

Canadian sport.

The British Army represented a body of men of singular thought. Personalities and interests differed, but notwithstanding individual preferences, a common mark of professionalism prevailed. The troops were members of the British Army, and thus the faithful fulfilment of duty was a necessary requirement. When the Scots Fusilier Guards and the Grenadier Guards Regiments boarded their transports at Montreal on September 5, 1864 the Gazette hailed their departure by publishing the address of City Council to the commanding general and the corps. The city fathers recognized this quality of the British servicemen and the positive effect of an organized body of men on their society:

> On every opportunity our citizens have had the assistance of the officers and troops under your command, in the promotion of public enjoyments or on those occasions which have happily not been frequent, when more laborious services can be rendered by bodies of disciplined men.

The Guards had been ". . . a pride and boast to Montreal" for three years and their imminent departure signalled the loss of an efficient and highly reputed unit. Moreover, they were the epitome of the army institution and represented, in the finest tradition, military organization and efficiency. They were enthusiastic sportsmen too, and had done much to enliven the local sporting scene.

Prior to the 1830s, the British Army did not officially encourage the practice of amusements. Even personal fitness was left as the exclusive responsibility of the men themselves. Commanders discouraged rank and file leisure owing to the prevalence of drunkenness. Army reforms changed this and announced a changing attitude with respect to the well-being of the private soldier. His active amusement became a significant concern. Sport, as a morale booster and a medium of training, gained popularity within the army institution and the practice of games and pastimes became recognized as an 'alphabetical cure-all'. Once the sporting philosophy gained acceptance, official policy soon followed.

But implementing the new edicts was no small task. Facilities and regimental equipment were required. Furthermore, instructors were necessary and had to be recruited and then sufficiently trained to meet the criteria of the regulations. In the vast empire, this constituted a monumental undertaking, but the requirements had to be met.

Once these reforms were implemented, the soldiers' sporting perspective changed dramatically. The army promoted exercise and sport for the benefit of the troops and this signalled the beginning of a collage of sporting opportunity for the private soldier. Even officers, who had always participated in sport, found that the official sanction of the army enhanced their own sporting pursuits and provided new avenues of competition.

The institutional sporting enthusiasm affected the garrison community as well. Generally, as the garrison's sporting interests grew, they were matched by those of the community. In several sports, the military turned to the townspeople for competition. Eventually, challenges issued by the garrison were matched by civilians. At times, the town looked to the military for sporting instruction and leadership while in other situations, existing civilian clubs sponsored events for their military neighbours. A symbiotic relationship developed.

The institutional nature of the British Army did result in several shortcomings with reference to sport but there were many advantages. The inherent organization and leadership of the Imperial forces filtered into the realm of sport and the colonial atmosphere was the better for it. The people of Montreal recognized this advantage when the Guards' Regiments were stationed in the city during the United States Civil War and expressed regret at the loss of such an orderly body of men. The discipline and organization of the British Army represented a valuable addition to the colonial society. Sport prospered as well.

Commensurate With the Problem: The Army Way

The leisure time pursuit of sport by military personnel stationed in British North America exemplified the long term concern of various military authors regarding the army's philosophy pertaining to sports and physical exercise. Throughout the nineteenth century the United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal published articles which stressed the need for the inauguration and promotion of manly activities within the ranks of the various military units, wherever they were stationed. The first of these admonishments was printed in 1831, under the heading, "Yacht Clubs and Regattas." The article illustrated the numerous advantages accruing from sport, and in particular, urged officers to promote aquatic sports on foreign stations:

> In whatever point of view we examine the seamanship measure, either as a means of exciting emulation in the yacht clubs, as a national festival, or as a grand holiday of the seamen, we are more and more convinced of its public utility. We call, therefore, on the people, and on our naval heroes, to support these pursuits in every possible way; and we earnestly recommend them to establish regatta clubs in different parts of the kingdom, which will ensure a repetition of the festival. . . . By these means we may venture to affirm that the country will reap much and valuable benefit . . .[1]

This was merely the first of many similar suggestions. Military authors began to recognize the merits of organized leisure for the troops and wrote of the perceived advantages. Sir James E. Alexander, for example, who based his recommendations on Canadian observations, began to support games, exercises and other amusements as cures for many military problems. Throughout the nineteenth century, physical exercise was championed as an antidote to poor health, drunkenness, desertion and strained social relations with the host community. As an integral component of army life, exercise was praised as a training method, a recruiting incentive, and even a cultural index of the British way of life.

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[1] United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine, "Yacht Clubs and Regattas," May, 1831, Pt. II, p. 69.

The optimal health of the troops was a necessary requirement in order for the army to remain an effective fighting force. For much of the early part of the nineteenth century however, such was not the case. Army Medical Department Statistical, Sanitary and Medical Reports dated as late as 1870 pointed out several disturbing realities while complimenting the authorities on the general health of the troops:

> The general health of the troops serving in the Dominion of Canada has throughout the whole period been remarkably good.
>
> At particular stations some sanitary defects have been noted, but none that have acted prejudicially on the health of the men.
>
> As the success of the Red River Expeditionary Force is mainly to be attributed to hygienic measures, I may mention that the robust health of the soldiers, and their immunity from crime, are attributed by the Medical Officers to selection of the men and total abstinence from the use of intoxicating

> liquors. . . .
>
> Sanitary measures in the towns on this side of the Atlantic are too often neglected, and Halifax in this respect is no better than the others.
>
> During the summer small-pox prevailed among the civil population, but did not extend to the military.
>
> The climate is, no doubt, a healthy one, but in consequence of the extreme moisture of the air, pectoral and rheumatic complaints are prevalent at certain seasons of the year. Halifax may be regarded as one of the most healthy stations.[2]

Similar observations were made in previous reports and although several shortcomings of military service were identified, poor health was largely attributed to the idleness of the men. Dr. Ferguson, the Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals first drew attention to this helplessness and listlessness in the United Service Journal in 1835.[3] He suggested that fencing, gymnastics, feats of strength, swimming, running and equestrian activities be introduced into the ranks as modes of profitable leisure.

However, since Ferguson's 1835 pronouncements, conditions had improved. Schools, libraries and amusements were implemented ". . . because the 'vox populi' [had] already adopted them as a panacea for all evils in the Army, and the Horse Guards [had] consented to turn their attention to these important subjects . . . ."[4] But much was yet to be done. One decade later, a Journal editorial examined methods of improving the condition of the soldiers and concluded that barracks, equipment, personal privileges and the service tradition itself required positive reform. Problems associated with each of these proved to be detrimental to the general health of the troops.

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[2] Army Medical Department, Statistical, Sanitary and Medical Reports for the Year 1870, Vol. XII, London: Harrison and Sons for Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1872, pp. 65-6.

[3] Ferguson, "On the Health of Troops," p. 526.

In the North American colonies the health of the troops was a major concern for station commanders as late as 1858. Upon leaving Montreal for Corfu, Lt. Col. Sir James E. Alexander emphasized the need for manly exercises for the soldiers. Alexander identified an historical precedent, the fall of the Roman Empire, as the likely result of the weakness of poor health and effeminate behaviour that marked the lifestyle of the British troops in Canada. Alexander asserted that the strength of good health had to be promoted on Canadian stations to counter the effects of idleness and drink. Whereas this active promotion of health could be effected in several ways, Alexander felt that manly exercises were the most effective path to good health. The example of officers was of paramount importance. Their position required that they promote recreational activities through means such as creating a gymnastic fund by the collection of a moderate subscription, providing bats and balls for cricket, equipment for quoits and skittles, and prizes for monthly competitions in putting weights, leaping, running, wrestling and swimming.[5]

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[4] United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine, "On Improving the Condition of the Soldier," September, 1846, Pt. III, p. 117.

Army investigators concluded that the damp climate and the standard of life in British North America were basically detrimental to the health of the British troops. Inherent problems escalated when these natural problems were complicated by the effects of idleness and drink. As a result of these findings, commanders were encouraged to enhance the lifestyle of their men and thereby contribute to their well-being and, ultimately, their state of health. Whereas the army could perhaps do little to eliminate colonial disease and improve colonial health facilities, they could alter the experiences of the soldiers by promoting healthful activities.

Poor health was often the result of the abuse of intoxicating liquor. Annual medical reports constantly condemned the apparent addiction to spirits and suggested numerous alternatives in an attempt to combat this problem. In the late sixties, the medical department concluded that the system of fines, lately introduced for the purpose of checking intemperance, had generally failed to reduce the extent of the practice. The report for 1870 suggested that games and amusements interested the soldier for a time, but that further diversions were required.[6] Nevertheless, while British troops garrisoned the communities of North America, sporting pastimes were the primary diversions ascribed to by the military authorities.

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[5] Alexander, "Manly Exercises for Soldiers," p. 360.

While local 'grog shops' were a major source of the evil accompanying the abuse of drink, the lifestyle of the men contributed to the problem. Whereas libraries, reading rooms and military schools had been implemented in an attempt to lessen the extent of the vice, they were recognized as being too formal to be effective. By 1858, authorities concluded that exercise and amusements were the proper incentive needed to deal with the prevailing inebriety:

> Physical education, except as it is made part of a soldier's duty, and the means of giving some amusement or recreation within the barrack boundaries, and keeping him from the pot-house, outside, are hardly considered at all . . . . If what is now called the canteen, embraced the library, and reading-room — the gymnasium, the fives court with skittle ground and other games and means of amusement, all under one establishment; and called by a name less suggestive of drink than that it has now — accessible by a step or two each of them to the other — it is reasonable to presume that many a man who

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[6] Army Medical Department, Report for 1870, p. 65.

> now wanders beyond his barracks for amusement, or from having nothing to do — and who gets drunk or absent — or who finds himself soon after in hospital, might be saved for something better.[7]

This philosophy gained recognition and support throughout the years prior to the British Army's departure from the majority of Canadian stations in 1871. The quality of garrison life was significantly improved throughout the century and sporting pursuits were a popular preventative medium. For the development of Canadian sport, this was indeed significant. The garrison mentality became more sport-oriented and as a result, interaction between the town and the garrison became more popular on the sporting field.

Because Imperial stations were located close to the United States border, desertions posed an equally vexing concern. The emerging, positive sporting philosophy encompassed this problem as well. Lt. Col. Alexander, whose regiment experienced an alarming number of desertions, championed sport as an effective antidote. Even though he felt that duty was ". . . nowhere severe in Canada,"[8] the number of desertions continued to mount. Sporting pastimes could provide attractive alternatives.

At the same time, despite the British heritage of the

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[7] J. W. F., "How May the Army be Made More Popular," pp. 3-4.

[8] Alexander, "On Desertion in Canada," p. 470.

North American colonists, Imperial regulars were still viewed by many Canadians as foreigners. Social relations were not always entirely favourable and military authorities were encouraged to promote harmony. Again, military games and pastimes were perceived as effective diplomacy:

> They cause a relaxation for an hour or two to the thousands of the lower classes, who, buried in their loathsome dens and narrow streets, are, by the hopes of a military spectacle . . . led to seek the fresh air of the parks. Such scenes induce hundreds, nay thousands, to leave the odrous [sic] gin-palaces and beer-shops.[9]

In Great Britain, the army may have been intending to contribute to the social welfare of the poor, but in Canada, their intentions were directed at promoting good relations between the troops and their Canadian neighbours.

Sport was employed as an antidote to the scourges of military and civilian life but was also conceived in order to augment military training and recruitment. The preceding United Service Journal article which suggested that games be used for diplomacy, implied that military activities be employed for many recuperative purposes among the civilian population, but the Journal editor felt that the army's situation throughout the empire necessitated the implementation of "Military Games and Pastimes" for more pragmatic reasons:

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[9] United Service Journal, "Military Games and Pastimes," p. 229.

> The disturbances in Canada, which have since broken out, give additional weight to the suggestions it is intended by the writer to convey, and there can be no difference of opinion as to the propriety of encouraging military exercises and practical training amongst the troops.[10]

In the editor's opinion, physical training would prepare the troops for conflicts such as had recently occurred in the Canadian colonies. Alexander emphasized a similar training potential that was first suggested by the ancients. He referred to the celebrated warrior, historian and sportsman, Xenophon, who lauded hunting as a recreation "bearing a closer resemblance to war than any other amusement."[11] Alexander agreed that the hunt tended to make men hardy, and promoted mental and physical health:

> 'Viva la chasse!' then, as a fitting recreation for soldiers, and if pursued in moderation, and without unnecessary cruelty to, or indiscriminate slaughter of the game animals, it is undoubtedly deserving of all the commendations accorded to it.[12]

Despite the prevailing fear of desertion, Alexander was determined to avail his troops of the opportunity to engage in the pursuit of Canadian field sports. Sport assumed a practical application within the ranks. The British Army determined that sports and exercise were indeed integral to the army institution:

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[10] Ibid., p. 233.

[11] Alexander, "Summer and Winter Game Shooting in Canada West," p. 499.

[12] Ibid.

> The institution of military games, and the distribution of pecuniary prizes to non-commissioned officers and privates, and of honorary distinctions to all ranks, appear to me the most suitable means of promoting the attainment of skill in the use of arms, and of encouraging the zealous practice of those athletic exercises which increase the qualities of agility and strength.[13]

Inevitably, the British Army would be made more attractive and more efficient through the implementation of physical exercises and sporting pastimes. Recruiting would be stimulated and training would be augmented. Ultimately, the army institution would become more efficient.

The sporting philosophy developed slowly but eventually gained the required recognition of general officers. The supportive articles of active regimental commanders hastened the acceptance of the movement and became a positive influence which resulted in official army legislation which served to promote sport in order to maintain the health of the troops, discourage desertion and boost morale. Formal regulations, committee reports, memoranda and official army circulars governing policy frequently referred to sports items. Barrack masters' requisition orders often itemized sports equipment.

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[13] Capt. Alex Cunningham Robertson, "On the Means of Applying the Principle of Stimulating the Voluntary Exertions of Individuals to the Improvement of the System of Military Training and to the Increase of the Efficiency of the Army," United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal, November, 1856, Pt. III, p. 336.

Prior to the 1850s, sports regulations were originally issued in Great Britain but eventually filtered down to stations throughout the empire. Station commanders were free to institute the orders as they saw fit to interpret them.

As early as 1841, a general order issued from the Horse Guards under the hand of the Commander in Chief, General Lord Hill, Order No. 551, ensured that cricket would follow Imperial regulars wherever they served:

> The Master General and Board of Ordnance being about to form Cricket Grounds for the use of the Troops at the respective Barrack Stations throughout the United Kingdom, the General Commanding in Chief desires that Commanding Officers of Regiments, Depots, and Detachments will cause these Grounds to be strictly preserved, and that no Carriages or Horses be suffered to use them.
>
> The Cricket Ground is to be considered as in the immediate charge of the Barrack Master, who, however, cannot reasonably be expected to protect it effectually, unless assisted in the execution of that duty by the support and authority of the Commanding Officer of the Station, as well as by the good feeling of the Troops, for whose amusement and recreation this liberal arrangement is made by the Public.
>
> Lord Hill will treat as a grave offence every tresspass that shall be wantonly committed by the Troops either upon the Cricket Ground or upon its fences.
>
> The Troops will, moreover, be required, in every such case, to pay the estimated

> expense of repairs, as in the case of Barrack damages.
>
> Special Instructions, concerning the Cricket Grounds, have been issued to the Barrack Masters by the Master General and Board of Ordnance.[14]

In the North American colonies, Lord Hill's order was effected without hesitation. Garrison cricket grounds were established at Halifax, Montreal and Kingston and fatigue parties were actively engaged in their upkeep.

After 1850, sports policies became more prolific and garrison commanders became obligated by the new legislation. By 1858, provisions for gymnastics and games were included within the regulations for the duties of the inspectors-general of hospitals, staff and regimental medical officers, and officers of the regiments of foot, as precautions for preserving the health of the troops. Gymnastics and games were contained under the section dealing with sanitary regulations.[15] At this time, the health of the troops was uppermost in the minds of the military authorities.

In 1864 the War Office published one of the first reports of the Committee appointed to report upon Gymnastic Instruction for the Army. Included within the report were sections on the amount of gymnastic instruction required, measurement techniques, gymnasia, instructors, expenses, sanitary arrangements, stores and quarterly reports to be submitted from each station gymnasium. Appendices to the report included a doctor's memorandum on the state of health of the troops, rules to be observed in taking and recording measurements, particular requirements for the various garrisons, station costs, requisite equipment and a memorandum on swimming by Archibald Maclaren.[16] The report called for gymnasia at Halifax, Quebec and Montreal for the use of those personnel stationed there.

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[14] Halifax Defence Complex, Research Document Collection, "General Order No. 551, March 8, 1841," Halifax.

[15] Public Record Office, Wo 33, 6A 23, "Regulations for the Duties of Inspectors-General: 1858," London.

The Committee's report was immediately put into effect. On August 25, 1864 the Town Major's Office at Halifax issued the following garrison order:

> Officers Commanding Corps will be pleased to send to this Office at 9 am on Saturday next, the name of a Non-Com^{d} Officer, whom they would wish to recommend to be struck off duty to commence a course of Gymnastic Training, with a view to his qualifying as an Instructor during the Winter.
>
> The Non-Com^{d} Officer selected will be allowed 9 pence a day and flannel clothing, and it is desirable that he should be a strong active man, and it would be a great advantage if he has already had some experience in Gymnastics and has a Knowledge of Single Stick.[17]

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[16] Public Record Office, WO 32, 6209, "Report of the Committee on Gymnastic Instruction for the Army," London.

[17] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS, MG 12 HQ, Vol. 109, pp. 528-9.

By January 12, instructors had evidently been trained. On that day, officers commanding corps were instructed to submit to the Town Major's Office a list of any men desirous of going through a course of gymnastics. This was an experimental first session and to encourage enlistments, it was further stipulated that these men would be struck off all duty. At Halifax, the initial interest was apparently so great that squads had to be restricted to thirty men, with one instructional squad per regiment. On January 17 the Town Major's Office announced that the squads would remain on gymnastic duty until the course was complete at which time they would be relieved by other squads of the same strength.[18] The duty remained popular and became a salient part of military life in Halifax.

The enlistment of Archibald Maclaren suggests that the army was genuinely interested in the physical fitness of the men. Maclaren became the father of English gymnastics and the leader of physical exercises for the British. His physical education programs assumed a distinct military character as he subscribed to the principle that systematic exercise was necessary for functional living in civilian as well as military life.[19] Maclaren originally operated a fencing school but opened a private gymnasium at Oxford in 1858. He was approached by the army in 1860 to revise its physical training program and subsequently trained a group of non-commissioned officers. In 1868, Maclaren published A Military System of Gymnastic Exercises for the Adjutant-General's Office, Horse Guards, which remained in vogue for several years until replaced by the newly heralded Ling system of gymnastics.[20] The army recognized the importance of physical training by the 1860s, and did everything in its power to provide adequate instruction in every station where garrison troops or naval personnel were maintained.

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[18] Ibid., Vol. 110, pp. 210, 217.

[19] Deobold B. Van Dalen, Bruce L. Bennet, A World History of Physical Education, Englewood Cliffs, New

As early as 1860, several army circulars concerned sporting pastimes as well. Specific regulations were provided for the construction of libraries and recreation rooms in military centres throughout the empire.[21] Precise construction requirements were included in an 1865 memorandum relative to regimental recreation rooms.[22] Also included was a list of requisite furniture and utensils and the

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Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1971, p. 291.

[20] Archibald Maclaren, A Military System of Gymnastic Exercises and a System of Fencing for the Use of Instructors, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1868.

[21] National Army Museum, Army Circular Memorandum No. 290, "Libraries and Recreation Rooms," 1861.

[22] National Army Museum, Army Circular Memorandum No. 846, "Libraries and Recreation Rooms," 1865.

numbers of games to be provided per regiment:

Bagatelle boards	2
Chess	4
Draughts	8
Dominoes	6
Solitaire	2
Backgammon	2

Draughts was evidently one of the most popular indoor amusements of British troops at this time, second only to card playing. Games such as these were actively encouraged by officers as a means of keeping the troops on the barrack grounds and out of the civilian taverns. Billiards was also popular among the rank and file. An 1868 army circular included a clause which identified billiard tables as essential components of station barracks.[23]

Special army circulars, royal warrants, also periodically dealt with the sporting pursuits of the troops. An 1869 warrant encouraged garrison stations to inaugurate prizes for good shooting, in order to facilitate training and boost the level of morale.[24] Prestigious medals and pecuniary rewards increased the appeal of such competitions.

The relationship between army sports legislation and the health of the troops can be most clearly seen in various quartermaster requisition orders. Hospital stores included equipment intended to alleviate the tedium of military life and provide an alternative to idleness and drink. Garden tools, gymnasia and recreation room equipment were included. The requisition for 1870 included assorted balls, numerous gaming parts, gymnastic bars, bats and rackets.[25] The health of the troops was largely a reflection of the condition of barrack life, and this lifestyle could be enhanced by providing sporting and gaming diversions.

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[23] National Army Museum, Army Circular, Clause 74, "Billiard Tables," July, 1868.

[24] National Army Museum, Army Circular, Clause 62, "Royal Warrant on Prizes for Good Shooting," 1869.

In an attempt to combat the scourges of garrison life, military legislation encompassed sundry sports and equipment. The health and morale of the troops were the military's primary concerns in the years preceding their departure from Canada in 1871. Because of this concern, cricket fields, ball courts, skittle alleys, recreation rooms and skating rinks were common garrison features by the 1860s. Reports such as the Inspector-General's of 1868, which criticized the poor quality of barrack air in Canadian stations during the winter months, prompted military action. At the same time, the report praised the erection of covered, gas-lit skating rinks as an attempt at preventing such pulmonary diseases.[26]

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[25] Halifax Defence Complex, Research Document Collection, "Priced Vocabulary of Military and Naval Stores," 1870, pp. 531-589. (See Appendix 2)

[26] Montreal Gazette, December 1, 1868, p. 1.

Official circulars which authorized the introduction of athletics and gymnastics into the British Army were first issued by the Commander in Chief in 1859.[27] By 1871, grounds had been obtained and equipment largely supplied to garrisons throughout the empire. Regulated exercise programs were commonplace within the garrisons, including those in British North America. By the time that the troops were recalled from Canada, the army institution had developed programs of physical activity that were commensurate with its perceived needs.

Meeting the Requirements of Leisure

Throughout the nineteenth century the British Army experienced many housekeeping problems which became associated with the daily regimen of garrison life. Military authors were quick to identify these shortcomings and offered personal appraisals and remedies. Many of the suggestions encouraged the introduction of regimental sports and amusements. A positive sporting philosophy emerged and eventually, the army authorities sanctioned the initiation of physical activities for the troops. As a result, sports legislation was drafted by the Horse Guards. Subsequently, equipment and facilities were necessary in order to meet the sanctioned requirements.

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[27] *Nova Scotian*, June 27, 1859, p. 2.

At Kingston and Halifax, the citadels of Fort Henry and Fort George provided natural facilities for several sporting pastimes. Tobogganing was commonly practised on the glacis of the fortresses. For soldiers this provided a convenient recreation, as attested by Lt. O'Callaghan who was introduced to the "science and mystery" of the activity while stationed at Kingston in 1868.[28] At race meetings, citadel glacis provided a natural platform for spectators too. At no time were civilians restricted from frequenting these facilities. In fact, the military authorities encouraged civilian use of the grounds surrounding the fortifications. However, at Fort Henry, use of the ground was not as extensive owing to the fact that the citadel was located a considerable distance from the community of Kingston itself and bordered the Barriefield Common. But at Halifax, where the fortress was located in the centre of the town, civilians frequently enjoyed the facility.

There was, however, one rule associated with the citadel grounds that occasionally stymied the civilians' quest of sport. Military regulations stipulated that no permanent structures could be erected adjacent to the citadel glacis. Such structures would obviously hinder the defenders' field of fire, if the fortress were to be attacked, and would also provide a measure of protection for an invading force. Because the common was adjacent to the citadel at Halifax, this regulation created some concern to the inhabitants of that town. As early as 1838 the Committee of the Halifax Mechanics Institute received an essay for their annual competition for local trades or educational areas which earmarked the common as a vexing problem. The essay was accompanied by a plan and estimates intended to improve the common ". . . as a place of agreeable recreation for the inhabitants, without interfering with the military regulations connected with Fort George."[29] By 1863, the military authorities had become more lenient. In that year, a controversy developed between the Halifax Skating Rink Company and the Nova Scotia Horticultural Society. The Skating Company accused the Society of an unjust leasing agreement and the horticulturalists accused the skaters of reneging on a contract. The Nova Scotian intervened and suggested that perhaps both parties were at fault in consequence of the regulation that restricted the erection of permanent structures on the lands surrounding the citadel. The editor reiterated a letter from the Military Secretary dated October 29, 1862, which stated:

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[28] O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, p. 28.

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[29] Nova Scotian, September 6, 1838, p. 283.

> that His Excellency the Major-General Commanding the Forces had no objection to offer to the erection of the proposed building, provided it be of wood, and easily removed in the event of its being required for defensive purposes.[30]

The building, which had been a cooperative project of both groups, contravened the official military regulations insofar as it was a permanent structure. The Nova Scotian insisted that both groups were at fault and that perhaps the facility should be demolished. Nevertheless, the military authorities ignored the apparent transgression and the difficulties were resolved peacefully, much to the delight of the patrons of the building. Skaters continued to enjoy their rink and it is probable that many of the patrons were local military officers. Perhaps this would explain the military acquiescence.

Military authorities expressed more concern with the establishment and maintenance of general recreational grounds. Exercising grounds were marked out in each garrison and troops were encouraged to use them. Evidence suggests however, that soldiers rarely disported themselves on the open fields. A garrison order issued at Halifax in 1859 dictated that it was to be understood that the Pavilion Square Ground was available for the recreation of the troops.[31]

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[30] Ibid., August 24, 1863, p. 2.

[31] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS, MG 12 HQ, Vol. 105, p. 15.

But for the most part, the facilities were normally ignored by the men.

The civilian population, however, looked to the military to provide and maintain park facilities for their use. Civic officials were often berated for their apparent negligence in keeping up local grounds. In reality, municipal councils became dependent on the labours of the garrison for this requirement. In 1850, the Nova Scotian suggested that the Mayor should see that the city assisted the British regulars in maintaining these grounds.[32] When the Halifax garrison began to use a new parade ground on the former site of the fire-destroyed North Barracks, the editor reminded the civic authorities and citizens generally that if they wanted the Grand Parade, the former exercising ground, to look at all clean and decent during the summer, they would now have to do the work themselves.[33] But the civilian authorities were too dependent on the military. The grounds remained in a very poor state of repair except when the soldiers were using them during the summer months. With the exception of the military, ". . . no person in office [cared] a single straw whether it [was] kept decent or not."[34] Even when the civic officers relented and considered negotiating a £500 loan and raising private subscriptions to improve the common, they still expected to receive free labour from garrison personnel.[35] Because the British Army required facilities in order to promote training and leisure, their upkeep became a primary task. In the North American colony, the Imperial forces utilized land reserves and the ownership of the property was frequently a point of contention. Whenever civic authorities wished to avoid the cost of maintenance, the grounds were military responsibilities, but such was not always the case.

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[32] Nova Scotian, July 1, 1850, p. 201.

[33] Ibid., April 11, 1853, p. 110.

[34] Ibid., July 28, 1851, p. 234.

When problems arose over the maintenance of the Grand Parade in the early fifties, the Nova Scotian questioned the ownership of the land. After asserting that it belonged to the city and was not an official military reserve, the newspaper censured the city fathers and insisted that,

> we shall seize an early opportunity to come down upon those who have so long held possession of the only open space of ground in Halifax, without having the public spirit to improve and otherwise ornament it. The locality in question is admitted on all hands to be a disgrace to the city, nay, a public nuisance, and it is high time that the corporation looked to the matter.[36]

The community officials had simply become complacent owing to the military's constant supervision of facilities. Once again, the troops were an asset to the community as long as they posed no economic threat to the city coffers.

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[35] Ibid., March 8, 1852, p. 75.

[36] Ibid., July 19, 1852, p. 226.

At the same time, the army institution contributed significantly to the sporting aspirations of the townspeople of the garrison communities in its attempt to provide the garrison personnel themselves with sporting opportunities. In most North American sports, the military presence was apparent and army facilities were used by civilian sportsmen.

The garrison cricket ground was normally the finest facility of its kind in the garrison community. It was often the first cricket facility to be made available in the town as well. In 1841, cricket was introduced into Kingston and a town club was formed. By the kind permission of the Commandant of the garrison, the club met on the military parade east of Cataraqui.[37] This military reserve, which became known as the Barriefield Common, provided a readily accessible sporting facility throughout the nineteenth century. In Montreal, St. Helen's Island, the major military reserve which constituted the Imperial forces' armoury and prison, was normally off-limits to civilians. Frequently however, the island was opened to civilian traffic for a cricket match.[38]

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[37] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, July 21, 1841, p. 3.

In response to local cricketing needs, military fatigue parties were detailed to maintain the grounds as well. The rebirth of the sport in Halifax in 1845 was largely a result of soldiers fitting up a portion of the common as a field.[39] At Halifax in 1858, the Halifax Cricket Club provided financing to repair the community ground while the military provided the necessary labour. The following year the Nova Scotian reported that the funds had again been subscribed but that the army had not yet acted on their part of the bargain.[40]

Whether statements such as this undermined the facility sharing agreements between the garrison and the town is uncertain. But problems did develop. Some civilian sportsmen were occasionally angered at the apparent monopoly that the garrison personnel exercised on 'their' ground. When cricket and lacrosse were vying for the title of the national sport of Canada in 1867, the military cricketers came under attack. In response to a letter to the editor of the Montreal Gazette which objected to lacrosse being labelled as the national game, George Beers, the father of that movement, remarked somewhat bitterly that the soldiers monopolized the only field in the city.[41] Beers expressed significant anti-military feeling in his statement. One must ask whether this was a widespread attitude or merely a reflection of the lacrosse players' frustration in not being able to reserve the St. Catherine Street cricket ground for their matches.

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[38] Montreal Gazette, July 30, 1841, p. 2; August 8, 1856, p. 2.

[39] Nova Scotian, August 4, 1845, p. 242.

[40] Ibid., July 18, 1859, p. 6.

Similar problems occurred elsewhere. In Halifax in 1871, the local cricketers were disgruntled because the military would not allow the Halifax club to use the Garrison Cricket Ground for an upcoming match against an eleven from St. John's, Newfoundland. On July 20, the Halifax Morning Chronicle interceded:

> We hope there is a mistake regarding the action of the officers of the garrison in this matter and that they have some satisfactory explanation to give of what at present seems decided discourtesy in refusing to allow this inter-provincial match to be played on their ground.

The match was not played on the Garrison Ground and no explanation was given for the military's refusal. But this was a rare example of military élitism with respect to facilities and was contrary to the usual unbounded cooperation received by civilians from their uniformed brethren.

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[41] Montreal Gazette, August 8, 1867, p. 2.

Similar assistance was rendered by the military authorities in the pursuit of equestrian sports. The first formal horseracing at Halifax was the result of the exertions of the military governor, Lord William Campbell and his officers in 1768.[42] At Kingston following the War of 1812-1814, the military played a significant role in constructing a course for the community's spring and fall race meetings.[43] During the mid-1840s, the local course located outside nearby Williamsville was kept up by the officers.[44] Military work details were scheduled for the maintenance of the racing tracks as well.

Much was owed to the united services for the popularity of aquatic sports. The Royal Navy particularly, lent its support in numerous ways. In what was claimed as the first regatta in Upper Canada at Kingston in 1837, officials and vendors were allowed to pitch tents opposite the starting place on the military reserve.[45] Spectator boats were always allowed within government enclosures[46] and usually, a Royal Navy warship was employed as the starting platform.[47] For more than twenty years the naval tender, H.M.S. Pyramus served as the start line, judging platform, and finishing goal of all Halifax regattas.[48] Regatta organizers could always be assured that the necessary regatta facilities would be placed at their disposal by the military authorities. Commenting on preparations for the 1857 Halifax Yacht Club regatta, the Nova Scotian chronicled the extent of the naval patronage:

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[42] Howell, "History of Horseracing in Halifax," p. 4; Nova Scotian, May 11, 18, 1825; Acadian Recorder, May 14, 21, 1825, p. 3.

[43] Kingston Gazette, September 26, 1815, p. 3.

[44] Edwin Horsey, "Cataraqui, Fort Frontenac, Kingston," Unpublished Manuscript, Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston, 1937, p. 109.

[45] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, May 31, 1837, p. 2; July 1, 1837, p. 3.

> This is a compliment that has been long awarded, and we trust may long be continued by those who are the disposers of naval and military events in Halifax.[49]

Similar regatta assistance was received as long as British servicemen remained a feature of Haligonian society. The Pyramus in particular, still served the annual sailing committees in 1862.[50]

Numerous other recreational facilities which civilians utilized were the products of the British Army's efforts to provide the men with leisure opportunities. At Montreal, parties of soldiers ventured onto the ice each winter in order to construct outdoor skating rinks on the St. Lawrence River. The rinks were intended for the use of both the military personnel and civilians.[51] Occasionally, it was suggested that the idea originated with the mayor. One would therefore believe that he probably petitioned the army for the necessary manpower to complete the task. The army would likely accept the mayor's suggestion readily. The labour of constructing the ice surfaces would provide worthy respite from the tedium of the garrison winter, as much needed exercise and later amusement. The citizens of Montreal would ultimately benefit from the scheme and for his part, the mayor's popularity with the lower classes of Montreal society would be enhanced.

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[46] Ibid., July 28, 1841, p. 3.

[47] Nova Scotian, July 13, 1826, p. 258; July 16, 1829, p. 231.

[48] Ibid., September 27, 1838, p. 307; June 15, 1857, p. 2.

[49] Ibid., June 15, 1857, p. 2.

[50] Ibid., September 29, 1862, p. 2.

Finally, whereas community sports clubs usually met in private hotels to conduct normal business and complete arrangements for specific events, they were periodically invited to use permanent and centrally located garrison offices for this purpose. In early Halifax, equestrian enthusiasts met at the Artillery Park Barracks.[52] This is understandable when one realizes that horseracing in early

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[51] Montreal Gazette, February 16, 1863, p. 2; December 11, 1863, p. 2.

[52] Nova Scotian, July 13, 1825; July 13, 1826, p. 258.

Halifax was largely a product of the garrison officers at that station. Because Halifax regattas were the product of Royal Navy patronage, Halifax Committees of Management met at the Naval Storekeeper's Office to oversee aquatic arrangements.[53] This was one more situation in which the institutional nature of the military system predisposed soldiers to contribute to the development of Canadian sport. Any sporting event sponsored largely by officers, such as the Halifax regattas or races, could be organized in a military environment, and thereby decrease the cost of staging the sporting event itself. Military facilities were convenient, well-kept and normally free of charge, prerequisites that made them attractive alternatives to the costly and often poorly maintained facilities of the garrison community.

In order to meet the requirements of sporting circulars and general orders which emanated from the Commander in Chief, garrison barracks had to be equipped with adequate sports equipment. Whereas the officers of a station would provide many of their personal needs, especially for more élite activities such as equestrian sports and regattas, the rank and file were dependent on the quartermaster corps of the British Army to supply their equipment. The army suppliers were not negligent in this duty and sundry recreational stores were shipped to the garrisons throughout the empire. The troops' needs were well cared for in this sense, and Canadian sportsmen were both directly and indirectly assisted in their quest for sport.

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[53] Ibid., July 27, 1836, p. 234.

The most visible result of the abundant quality and quantity of military sporting materials was manifest in the sport of horseracing, where garrison officers usually had the finest steeds. Even when horseraces were criticized as lacking full-blooded or first-rate animals, the military still were normally in command of the competitions.[54] Forthcoming races were frequently hailed with applause for a particular unit that brought several noteworthy thoroughbreds to the colony. The appearance of cavalry regiments was noted for the positive influence that the officers and men would have on equestrian sports in the community. Even some foot regiments were noted for their prowess with horses:

> The sporting world hereabouts may expect a pleasant and stirring time of it at the race-course this summer, the officers of the Rifle Brigade having with a true zest for the great national sport of Merrie England, brought with them several thoroughbreds, properly trained for the 'turf', and ready to infuse a little life into this exciting and long-neglected amusement in Kingston.[55]

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[54] Daily British Whig, Kingston, August 22, 1851, p. 2.

[55] Daily News, Kingston, June 11, 1864, p. 2.

But this military dominance may have been restricted to the early, formative years of the sport of horseracing in the North American colony. After 1860, military equestrians did not fare as well on the race course as they had in years previous to that date, especially at Montreal where the sport of kings was well developed. Kingston in the mid-sixties was not a major horseracing centre, but in Montreal, military horses were even suspect as early as 1841:

> In general, officers, coming as they do for only three or four years, do not provide themselves with horses of calibre equal to those they must meet on the Race Course. Lord Caledon, Capt. Shirley, and Capt. Markham are the only Officers, who, in the last three years, have been the proprietors of horses capable of contending with those of gentlemen on the Canadian Turf. This being the case, I think it would be advantageous to the interests of the Turf in general (as it would induce Officers to supply themselves with horses) as well as those of the Military, to have, alternately, at each garrison town, viz., Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, Kingston, a purse, in proportion to the funds of the Club, and to the subscription of the Garrison of the place, to be run for by horses, 'bona fide' the property of Officers.[56]

Nevertheless, several military equestrians did gain a significant degree of notoriety in Canadian horseracing circles. Horses belonging to officers of the British Army were present at most, if not all, major race meetings in the North American colonies despite a racing reputation that was somewhat checkered.

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[56] Montreal Gazette, December 14, 1841, p. 3.

Military sportsmen were never short of adequate facilities or equipment. While many of the recreational items were restricted to barracks, facilities were freely shared with civilian sportsmen. In many activities, officers offered buildings, ships and military equipment to enhance the quality of the events and often, minimize the expense of the undertaking itself. For this the military was often praised. In meeting the requirements of the soldiers' leisure, the British Army facilitated the development of Canadian sport as well.

A Soldier's Sporting Perspective

In many sports, the exercise of the men was the primary reason behind the initiation of competitions, the construction of facilities and the provision of equipment. A major institutional goal of the British Army was to be prepared to react in a physical way, and the private soldier's ability to withstand the rigors of the march was conditioned by his level of fitness. But morale and unacceptable behaviour could be controlled as well. Captain Gallway of the Royal Engineers suggested that: "It had been his object ever since he had been in the army to promote manly sports among the men under his charge, as likely to keep them out of mischief."[57] This cathartic quality of sport took many forms. A distinct sporting perspective for the military personnel was the result.

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[57] Ibid., December 10, 1855, p. 2.

Owing to the prevailing quality of life in the Imperial forces and the requirements of leisure stipulated by the military authorities, a unique sporting milieu was shared by the officer and common soldier alike. The military organized many of the private soldier's pastimes in the form of regimental exercise. Gymnastics and shooting competitions, for example, which would engender little interaction with the community, became the primary "training" activities of the army institution. The garrison was inner-directed, and therefore several of the most common garrison amusements became solely military affairs. Perhaps this detracted from the impact of the Imperial forces on the development of Canadian sport. The soldier's sporting perspective, and even the sporting interchange between the garrison and the community, may have narrowed under the institutional influence exerted by the army itself.

But there were many advantages accruing from the institutional nature of army sport too. Some represented subtle advantages while others were openly favourable to the development of sport in the colony. Spectatorism characterized the first type. Civilians were rarely denied the opportunity of viewing military athletics. This, in turn, created an interest in the sport practised by the

Imperial regulars. At these military events, competitions were sometimes held for civilians too, thereby encouraging their involvement in sport. Despite the fact that the British soldier's sporting perspective was unique as compared to that of his Canadian neighbour, it at no time proved obstructive to the sporting aspirations of others. Conversely, the institutional sport of the army may have spurred the development of the colonists' sporting experience.

Military games were frequently sponsored by commanding officers ". . . for the improvement of the non-commissioned officers and men . . . ."[58] Normally, garrison exhibitions took place semi-annually although certain commanders who lauded the merits of amusements, such as Sir James E. Alexander, organized monthly competitions. While not all soldiers competed at these events, garrison orders often stipulated that all non-competitors attend in a passive, spectator role. Thus, men of the competing regiments mustered in force, the day normally being declared a holiday for them.[59] Although the games were usually sponsored by the officers for the rank and file,[60] officers occasionally indulged in the sport alongside their charges. When the Rifle Brigade regimental games were held at Kingston in 1864, the Daily News reported on August 27 that the events provided a rare opportunity for the other ranks and officers to mix:

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[58] Ibid., September 29, 1841, p. 2.

[59] Ibid., October 23, 1869, p. 2.

[60] The 1850 athletic games for the men in garrison at Halifax were sponsored by officers who had won monetary

> A good deal of spirit and energy were displayed by the various competitors, composed of officers and men, who mingled together in a fraternal kind of regimental freemasonry, putting the latter entirely at their ease.

Whenever two or more regiments attended the events, competitions developed into a corps versus corps battle. Whenever cavalry regiments were engaged, the contest between the infantry and their mounted comrades was intense.[61] Different units also wore distinguishing colours to inspire the rivalry. For the garrison athletic games held on the Halifax common in 1850, the first brigade of the Royal Regiment wore black, the 38th Regiment wore white, the 88th were dressed in green, the Royal Artillery were outfitted in sky blue and the Royal Sappers and Miners wore

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prizes at the recent fall horserace meeting. Their winnings were appropriated as prizes. This not only suggests that regimental officers took an interest in their men's leisure, but also that they were involved in sport personally for the inherent pleasure of disporting themselves rather than for the possible pecuniary gain from say, horseracing. See the Nova Scotian, October 25, 1850, p. 329.

[61] Montreal Gazette, November 6, 1866, p. 2.

pink.[62] Haligonians witnessed a most colourful spectacle. Civilian spectators were common at these events too. The reports of most military extravaganzas boasted a large citizen attendance,[63] often the result of newspaper advertisements which encouraged the populace to attend.[64] In this way, the military contributed to the development of athletic games in Canada in a passive sense. Whereas the army institution initiated athletic sports for a distinct military purpose, the spectator appeal of the contests engendered a certain passive, civilian interest in the pastimes. But the army provided a more active influence as well. At many garrison meetings, a "visitors", or civilians' race would be included within the events of the day. Races for boys were common, perhaps as a recruiting ploy (although young soldiers, for example drummers, and the children of soldiers, usually took part).[65] These races were undoubtedly intended to promote good civil-military relations but also served to implant an interest in athletic sports among the resident population. In fact, the Nova

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[62] Nova Scotian, October 21, 1850, p. 329.

[63] Ibid., July 14, 1856, p. 3.

[64] See for example, the Daily British Whig, Kingston, October 18, 1851, p. 2.

[65] Montreal Gazette, November 7, 1866, p. 2.

Scotian interpreted the interest shown at the 1850 Halifax garrison meeting as evidence that a public club was required in the town,

> . . . for carrying into effect those athletic games and amusements which, in our opinion, are conducive to the physical development of the energies of the youth and manhood of our population. Such amusements, when prosecuted with moderation, exercise an important influence on a community.[66]

Thus, although the military authorities may have been looking after their own in promoting athletic competitions for the men, a certain influence was exerted on the civilian population as well. Spectatorism implanted an interest in the events and occasional civilian races cultivated that interest. Ultimately, the formation of civilian clubs was encouraged.

Military rowing provided a similar impact on the Canadian sports scene. Especially at Halifax, the annual aquatic competitions were often dubbed the "garrison regattas".[67] At these events, private sailing matches were organized for the station officers, and four-oared gig and man-o-war cutter races were held for soldiers and seamen of Her Majesty's ships. Most races, however, were open to the entire community and even sailors from neighbouring communities. While a general survey of newspaper reports suggests that the civilian dependence on the institutional aquatics may not have been extensive, an early Kingston example shows otherwise. Despite the natural hydrography of the area, regattas had not been established at Kingston by 1832. On June 9 of that year, a Chronicle and Gazette reader under the nom de plume 'Nautilus' implied that the British Army was responsible for introducing the sport to the town:

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[66] Nova Scotian, October 21, 1850, p. 329.

[67] Ibid., August 12, 1841, p. 251.

> There is perhaps no place in the world so well adapted to the exhibition of a Regatta as the port and harbour of Kingston; and yet strange to say, year after year has been allowed to roll away without any such scenes having been witnessed in this part of the world. It has often been said there is little to amuse in Kingston — here then is one of the means of entertainment both to spectators and performers pointed out, which ought no longer to lie dormant, and I hope this hint will not be lost upon the gallant officers of the 66th, as well as of the public departments in this Garrison.

Rowing was an integral component of the soldier's sporting perspective and was intended as a recreational pursuit by the army institution. The civilian population also benefitted from the army's organization of these events. Indirectly, the soldier's leisure became a medium for civilian amusement too.

Garrison race meetings for officer equestrians provided a similar sporting opportunity for civilian sportsmen. Here, too, events were commonly dubbed "Garrison Races" but were not restricted to military horsemen. The appellation simply implied military organization, a function to which the institutionalized nature of the British Army was predisposed.

Other sporting activities sanctioned by the military authorities became part of the soldier's experience and offered varying degrees of civilian involvement. Skating, sleighing and picnics were normally open to civilian guests, even when organized by the military authorities. Military cricket, football and shooting matches at least provided events which the townspeople could observe. Snowshoeing excursions were held and provided a certain degree of humourous entertainment. Activities which precluded all civilian involvement, such as gymnastic exercises, swordmanship and bathing were rare exceptions. But for the most part, military sport offered civilians too, an avenue of respite from the daily regimen of colonial life. The British soldier's recreational activities were rarely enjoyed privately.

The soldier's sporting perspective assumed several competitive variations. Individual competitions were common. With the exception of cricket, officers rarely competed as a unit. The army institution stressed officer initiative and individuality and these traits were reinforced through sport. In horseracing flats, steeplechases, rowing and sailing, officer success depended on the quality of their equipment and the degree of their skill. For the rank and file, individual skill was tested in footracing, field events and snowshoeing. But proportionately, competitors from the ranks were limited and events were often dominated by one or two soldiers. This most certainly discouraged many prospective sportsmen.

Cricket dominated as the major team sport practised by the military and newspaper reports suggest that military matches were periodically arranged and sanctioned by senior officers. In 1865, a Captain, president of the Montreal Garrison Cricket Club signed for a match organized to pit the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and 30th Regiment against the 25th Regiment and the 60th Rifles.[68] While it is unlikely that the soldiers were ordered to play, the complete organization of the sport for the men in garrison reveals an interesting aspect of the institutionalization of sport within the ranks.

The inherent organizational feature of the Imperial forces conditioned the soldier's sporting perspective as well. Competitions were usually structured along regimental lines and resulted in unique sporting interchanges. In June, 1867 those Montrealers who enjoyed the game of cricket were treated to a match between the 25th King's Own Borderers and the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers. The match generated unusual interest because the Fusiliers hailed from Quebec. Both regiments had been stationed in Montreal since 1865 and the Fusiliers had only recently been transferred to Quebec.[69] A sporting tie was obviously formed while the units were in garrison together and subsequent matches invested both communities with a competitive fever as each town rallied to support its military representatives.

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[68] Montreal Gazette, July 13, 1865, p. 2.

Competitions between the British Army and the Royal Navy were popular attractions for civilians in Canadian port stations. At Halifax in particular, where the naval forces were prominent, competitions pitting soldiers against sailors aroused great interest. Both dockyard personnel and ships' crews of the North Atlantic Squadron competed. Both the army and the navy were part of the Imperial military institution yet each was independent of the other. For sport, this made for an interesting situation and the ensuing competition that resulted from this rivalry aroused the interest of the civilian population.

Military competitions reflected a social orientation as well. Frequently, the officers of a regiment or a ship competed against the men under their command. At Kingston in 1850, the officers of the army and navy were handily defeated by the NCO's and men of the Rifle Brigade.[70] Civilian spectators were entertained by such matches yet one must question whether they were equally impressed when the other ranks prevailed over their superiors. Spectators at these mid-week matches were drawn from the upper and middle classes. Perhaps the lower class soldiers of the rank and file posed a threat to the upper strata of society, not to their officers whose position was secure owing to the inherent hierarchy of rank, but rather, to the civilians whose status was often reinforced through sport. The army structure which characterized its institutional nature remained secure against any social transgression by the lowly rank and file. Tradition ensured that. But while smugly applauding the other ranks on the surface, the civil hierarchy may have winced at such sporting results. The successes experienced by other ranks may have led to the democratization of sport. Early closing movements, which gained support in the 1860s, freed more people to participate in after-hour sport. The successful performances of other ranks may have encouraged some of these individuals to attempt to cross the social boundaries which were normally maintained through sport. If this indeed occurred, one might trace the origin of the democratization of Canadian sport in part, to the institutionalized nature of the British forces stationed in the colony, more precisely, to the sporting activities of the rank and file.

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[69] Ibid., June 22, 1867, p. 3; June 5, 1867, p. 3.

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[70] Daily British Whig, Kingston, August 3, 1850, p. 2.

This is of course largely conjecture. Nevertheless, the British soldier's sporting perspective differed significantly from that of his Canadian neighbour, largely because of the institutionalized nature of the army itself. Those of lowly social rank in the community realized few sporting opportunities whereas the military authorities arranged sundry forms of organized leisure for the troops. But in doing so, they provided sporting opportunities for the civilian population ~~as~~ well. This, in turn, contributed directly to the development of sport in Canada.

Community Interchange Through Sport

The military often competed as a unit against their civilian peers. Interaction with the community assumed many forms and sport was a major ambassador in the quest for harmonious relations between the visiting soldiers and their hosts. Sporting interchange was initiated by both groups and tended to benefit both the troops and the townspeople. At times, garrison personnel challenged civilians to compete in an event while periodically, the challenge was issued by a civilian team or individual, commonly through the local newspaper. This interchange was usually concerned with sporting activities that were well entrenched in the social fabric of the town. Whereas the military were normally engaged in most community sporting activities, there were occasions when civilians in a particular garrison town practised an activity that was foreign to the soldiers. Whenever this was the case, the townspeople were generally quick to sponsor introductory races for the troops. This represented a certain institutional recognition. The reasons for this sporting recognition varied.

In cricket, military challenges were frequent. When the sport was first introduced to Montreal in the late 1820s, the first report of a match was the result of a challenge from the newly-arrived 68th Regiment to the citizens composing the untried Montreal Cricket Club.[71] Cricket was introduced to Kingston in 1835 and the first club was formed in response to a challenge from the 24th Regiment Cricket Club. Despite a minor disagreement over the use of Royal Artillerymen by the embryo municipal club, the inaugural match was eventually played on the militia parade ground and excited a great deal of interest regardless of the hesitance of the local scribe to provide an account of the event.[72] Challenges were constantly issued by the resident garrisons of both communities throughout the period under study. They were readily accepted and formed the foundation of much of the sport in these communities.

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[71] Montreal Gazette, July 6, 1829, p. 2.

[72] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, July 1, 11, 15, August 1, 8, 1835, p. 3.

At Halifax, the first reported cricket match occurred in 1786 and was the result of a challenge by the dock yard and town to the gentlemen (officers) of the army and navy.[73] In subsequent years the garrison elevens of the Halifax station proved distinctly superior to the civilian clubs with the result that most challenges emanated from the latter groups. Military elevens normally chose to challenge other service teams, probably in search of better competition. But certain units did issue the opening challenge to the civilian cricketers. Representative of these was a "friendly challenge" from the Light Company of the 76th Regiment in 1853:

> In consequence of the dullness of the Garrison, as regards amusements, the Light Company of the 76th (Hindoostan) Regiment is pleased to challenge the Halifax Club or the Corps in Garrison according to the scale mentioned underneath, to a friendly game of Cricket, at any time that may suit the convenience of both parties. Any of the undermentioned parties who may wish to accept the Challenge can settle preliminaries with Corporal Edward Frost, at the Citadel or elsewhere, any hour of the day.
>
> Halifax Club 15

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[73] Nova Scotia Gazette, October 17, 1786.

Royal Artillery 18
Royal Sappers and Miners . . . 22
72nd Highlanders 13
NB: Fredericton too if they can make it!

Ed. Frost, Cor'l Lt. Co'y
One of the Eleven[74]

It is clear that the lifestyle of the British officers and other ranks stationed at Canadian garrisons was somewhat tedious. Thus one would expect the soldiers to attempt to stimulate their daily life with the practise of amusements. Cricket was a favourite pastime of the Imperial forces and it is natural to believe that they would attempt to instill within the community the same 'love' of the game that they in fact cherished. One might suggest that the impact of the troops on the introduction and growth of cricket, in particular, may not have been crucial to the sport's success in the colony owing to the presence of British colonists. This may be true. The sport of cricket would have surfaced in the colony regardless of the presence of British troops. But the Imperial forces were avid cricketers, and their impact on the nature of the sport in early Canada cannot be overemphasized. They did offer many of the first challenges that resulted in the introduction of the sport in various communities. They were skilled cricketers, and spurred community clubs to improve their own skills. At all times they were ready adversaries, prepared to match their skills against those of their Canadian neighbours at a moment's notice. Their institutionalized nature predisposed them to competitive rivalries. Consequently, whereas the sport of cricket would have been practised in the colony even if the British regulars had not been in garrison, the institutionalized nature of army cricket ensured the success of the sport in Canada.

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[74] Nova Scotian, August 29, 1853, p. 274.

It is rather enlightening when one examines what could be called the cricket-baseball dichotomy which characterized Canadian sport in the late sixties and early seventies.[75] Because of the gradual entry of the lower classes into sport, baseball was gaining in popularity in the late 1860s. But cricket remained supreme as the 'national' sport of the colony. Even lacrosse, which experienced phenomenal growth from Montreal to Toronto after Confederation, could not match the widespread practice of cricket. But after 1871, baseball seriously threatened to surpass cricket as the most common sport form practised in the Canadian colony. It is significant that the bulk of British troops had left the country by that time. At Halifax, where Imperial regulars remained, cricket survived as the major sporting pastime of the community.[76] With the exception of brief periods during the 1860s, when all Haligonian interest in the sport appeared to subside, the military were the mainstay of local cricket.

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[75] Baseball was introduced to Canada in 1859, primarily in southwestern Ontario, where permanent teams were established in Hamilton and Toronto (see Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," p. 79). Interest soon spread throughout the colony. In some areas, such as Chatham, a controversy arose which debated the merits of the emerging pastime, baseball, and cricket, the old country favourite. London and Guelph became largely baseball towns, although cricket did survive, whereas vehement Chatham sportsmen cursed the baseball plague for assuming such a virulent form in those towns (see Chatham Tri-Weekly Planet, April 17, 1876, p. 2). When the London Cricket Club showed evidence of new vitality in 1876, the Planet asserted: "We are glad to see that London has not become altogether demoralized with its baseball fever. Base ball is a degenerate game, compared with good old cricket"(Planet, May 12, 1876, p. 2).

Cricket was the major activity in which the garrison sportsmen stimulated community interchange through challenges, but other sports received similar attention. Canadian steeplechasing was largely a military innovation and military competitors normally led the events. Lt. Freeling illustrated the military dominance in his diary.[77] Civilians were rarely successful in competitions against the military yet in 1840, officers of the 7th Hussars, stationed in Montreal in response to the 1837 rebellion, published a challenge in the New York Spirit of the Times to run three horses across three miles of country against any three horses in America for £1,000.[78] In Halifax, organized athletics, track and field events, were first witnessed in 1808 as a result of a series of challenges instigated by the 101st Regiment.[79] Soldiers were predominantly involved in these events yet the stimulus to the development of the sports in the Maritime provinces provided by their example was surely instrumental to the success of the new sporting activities. In aquatic events, too, the military sportsmen challenged their civilian rivals. In early Halifax, the garrison was very active in stimulating regattas by challenging the townsmen.[80] For the townsmen, the sporting representatives of the military were a force to be reckoned with, and civilians were normally eager to "test their mettle" against the representatives of the Crown.

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[76] Moss, "Cricket in Nova Scotia," pp. 68-75.

[77] Freeling, "Diary," October 15, 1840.

[78] Montreal Gazette, December 3, 1840, p. 2.

Civilian sportsmen recognized the functional, group nature of army sport and thus frequently sponsored activities for the troops. Just as the military commonly challenged civilians, the townspeople returned the favour and encouraged the troops to become involved in pastimes that were foreign to the Queen's representatives. They were not always successful in convincing military sportsmen of the propriety of indigenous Canadian sports but promoted other garrison-community sporting interchanges nevertheless.

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[79] Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, March 8, 15, 1808.

[80] Nova Scotian, August 5, 1829, p. 255.

The reason for the army institution's interest in the sport of snowshoeing was the result of the requirements of Canadian defence. We have seen that garrison quartermasters were instructed to issue snowshoes and creepers to the troops every autumn. When the United States Civil War threatened to engulf Canada in the early sixties, civilian snowshoe clubs invited garrison officers to serve as stewards and committee members and introduced special military races.[81] One should recall the letter from the "Old Snow Shoer" which suggested that it was the civilian clubs' responsibility to induce the soldiers to practise on snowshoes by promoting military competitions.[82]

Whereas garrison horserace meetings were common, civilian equestrians frequently sponsored races for their military colleagues. In early race meetings at Kingston, Montreal and Halifax, military horsemen competed for United Service Plates, in which horses were required to be 'bona fide' the property of officers[83] and ridden by soldiers.

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[81] See for example, the Daily British Whig, Kingston, January 24, 1862, p. 3; Montreal Gazette, February 7, 1861, p. 2.

[82] Montreal Gazette, January 17, 1862, p. 4. Supra. p. 114.

[83] It is interesting to note that newspaper advertisements neglected potential entrants from the other ranks. Horses were required to be "bona fide the property of officers," not ". . . military personnel." With the exception of cavalry units, private soldiers simply did not own race horses.

These were the result of the belief that transient officers could not compete with permanent Canadian breeders. The local sportsmen recognized the military's competitive edge and took every opportunity to avail the British regulars a chance to participate in sport.

While regattas at Halifax were products of military organization for the most part, owing to the presence of the Royal Navy, Montreal events were predominantly civilian affairs. But the military were encouraged to compete. While making preparations for the 1860 regatta, the managing committee maintained that: "In the event of any of Her Majesty's Ships coming into Port, suitable prizes will be offered, to be rowed for by Ships' Boats."[84] Races reserved for military competitors were included in all nineteenth century aquatic meetings.

Similar patronage was common in several other sports. Community religious and benevolent societies included military events in their annual picnics and athletic festivals.[85] They were intended to provide an exhilarating experience for the troops, to combat the evils that necessarily resulted from extensive periods of idleness. In skating too, events were organized specifically for garrison personnel.[86] Shooting competitions held in conjunction with annual exhibitions included special categories for the Imperial forces.[87] Matches against local militia units aroused considerable interest. When the Dominion Rifle Association was formed in the late sixties, British regulars were eligible for most matches and private events for the Imperial forces were common.[88]

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[84] Montreal Gazette, August 18, 1860, p. 2.

[85] See for example, the Montreal Gazette, August 13, 1861, p. 2; August 8, 1862, p. 2.

The sport of lacrosse provides an interesting example of the exertions by local sportsmen to induce military involvement in Canadian sport. The sport invested Montreal with a feverish enthusiasm in 1867 and the local editor suggested that the garrison should be introduced to the exciting, new game:

> . . . why cannot some of our friends in the garrison introduce lacrosse into their regiments? The soldiers have the necessary size, speed and eye, and would, we think, with a little practice, become expert players. The game is inexpensive, takes little time in its pursuit, and is an admirable exercise. Cannot the move in this right direction be encouraged? We have garrison snow-shoe races, why not get up a garrison Lacrosse match.[89]

A later letter to the editor suggested that two newly-arrived regiments should be introduced to the game by their commanders, and that a garrison twelve with practice, would become a strong opponent for the local enthusiasts.[90] This may very well have been a major reason for the civilians' interest in promoting garrison sport. They were generally successful in creating sporting interchanges between the garrison and the community, and realized splendid competition as a result. But despite their exertions in this instance, the civilian lacrosse players failed to invest the military with a similar passion for the sport. Military sportsmen avoided participation in most indigenous team sports.

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[86] Daily News, Kingston, February 20, 1864, p. 2.

[87] See for example, the Daily News, Kingston, September 2, 1863, p. 2.

[88] Nova Scotian, June 7, 1869, p. 1.

[89] Montreal Gazette, July 25, 1867, p. 2.

For the most part, however, community interchange with the garrison in sporting circles succeeded in creating good relations between civilians and the members of the military institution. The garrison, as a unique unit within the community, promoted the introduction and growth of several activities through challenges issued to their civilian rivals. Military individuals and teams were challenged by local sportsmen in turn. Because of the competitive rapport that developed, Canadian sport prospered.

Owed to the British Nimrod: The Military Presence

Although the civilian sportsmen did contribute to the sporting experiences of their military guests, they also looked to the soldiers to provide many of their own sporting needs. The army institution was based on authority, organization and leadership and these qualities were paramount requisites in the development of organized Canadian sport.

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[90] Ibid., August 9, 1867, p. 2.

The civilian dependency on the military for their amusement can best be seen whenever locals voiced displeasure at the soldiers' apparent idleness. When the city of Toronto commended the 71st Regiment for contributing to their amusement in 1851, the editor of the Daily British Whig took the opportunity to scold the garrison of Kingston for neglecting to provide similar amusements and entertainments. He maintained that the commander of the 71st,

> . . . knows what is expected of a British Regiment in garrison and practises it. There was a time when Kingston was equally alive and merry; but now, alas the day! Psalmsinging and missionary meetings have usurped the military taste, and balls, private theatricals, and other amusements have the go by given to them. One comfort is, these things won't last forever.[91]

But negative opinions such as this were frequently countered by praise. As a formality, regiments were complimented by the municipal authorities upon their departure from the garrison town. While it should be recalled that most such addresses were official in nature and tell us little about the genuine feelings of the town toward the military, occasional speeches provide a hint of evidence in this area. The 7th Hussars arrived in Montreal in June, 1838 and soon achieved a positive reputation in local sporting circles. When they left for Quebec in November, 1842 in preparation for their embarkation for England, municipal representatives voiced genuine disappointment:

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[91] Daily British Whig, Kingston, January 22, 1851, p. 2. Local newspaper editors rarely attacked the resident British units but were not averse to strongly suggesting that the troops were not fulfilling their responsibilities with respect to the community.

> We part with the 7th Hussars with regret; - we shall miss the proud and soldierly bearing of this fine body of men, at future reviews and field days; and the absence of their accomplished and gallant Officers from the Turf and Hunting meetings, the socia-board, or the gay and brilliant ball, will be frequently adverted to.[92]

The social strata of early Montreal had looked to the garrison, especially the dashing cavalry, to stimulate the local society. Despite the fact that reviews, field days, horseracing, fox hunting, theatre and dress balls would continue after their departure, the troops would be sorely missed.

Similar social confessions were rarely as pointed with respect to the contribution of the military to colonial society. Most were intended not for the general army institution but rather for a particular corps that may have given the local society an extraordinary boost. At Halifax, the Royal Navy was highly touted for contributing to the social and sporting atmosphere of the community. Halifax was the summer headquarters of the Atlantic Squadron and as such, boasted the highest ranking naval officers among its residents. From late October to May however, the squadron headquarters was removed to the warmer waters of Bermuda and Haligonians experienced a noticeable social void. The people of Halifax eagerly anticipated the sailors' return each spring and when the British Squadron returned from its winter station on May 19, 1862 the Nova Scotian expressed elation:

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[92] Montreal Gazette, November 5, 1842, p. 2.

> We . . . feel unfeigned satisfaction at beholding once more such a large number of British men-o-war at anchor here, and entertain no doubt that we are but reflecting the general opinion of our fellow townsmen - and townswomen, who very properly take a natural interest in the festivities and recreations which not unfrequently result from the assembly of so many gallant officers in the port.

In Halifax particularly, civilian sportsmen looked to the military for their aquatic sport. In 1852, a concerned writer questioned whether Halifax was to have a regatta that year. He knew that the squadron was to depart shortly yet no attempt had been made to organize the annual competition. The writer stated the idea for the regatta had originated with the Vice Admiral and the officers of the Flag Ship in 1851 and that they had courteously invited the members of the community and garrison to join them because they were desirous of contributing to Haligonian amusement. He insisted that the townsmen should sponsor the event in 1852.[93] They eventually did, but Vice Admiral Seymour and his officers expressed little interest in organizing the event. The regatta was scheduled for September 19 and on September 13 the Nova Scotian reported that subscriptions were coming along well but that: "It is a matter of regret, however, that the army and the navy evince but little interest in getting up these annual Aquatic sports." But there appeared to be good reason for their lack of involvement. Seymour and his Flag Ship had only returned from a summer tour of Truro, Pictou and Prince Edward Island on September 5.[94] This would account for the tardiness of the 1852 arrangements. Apparently, they did not become involved with the regatta preparation upon their return but it is to be expected that reports based on their summer inspections would take priority over their leisure. Furthermore, officers would have been required to make the necessary preparations for quitting Halifax subsequent to wintering in Bermuda. When the events were eventually held in Chebucto Bay, the military were no less conspicuous in the various events than in previous years.[95] It would appear that they were simply too busy with military duties to contribute to the organization of the 1852 regatta. Their apparent disinterest was most certainly the exception and the incident clearly shows the degree to which colonial sportsmen looked to the military for their aquatic pastimes. The letter by 'Nautilus' proves that a similar dependence existed in early Kingston.[96] Only in Montreal (more precisely, at Lachine) were the civilian rowers not subject to military organization for the success of the competition.

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[93] Nova Scotian, August 15, 1852, p. 269.

[94] Ibid., September 6, 1852, p. 293.

Despite suggestions that military equestrians could not compete with their Canadian hosts, the soldiers' support was frequently sought by the colonists. In 1838 a Kingstonian mused that it was astonishing that the "interesting and truly national sport" of horseracing had been neglected of late in the town. The author of the letter suggested that:

> . . . we are . . . fully impressed with the great advantages to be gained, in a national point, from improving the breed of horses, and all past experience shows the Turf is the only efficient means of doing so . . . . We have no doubt the gentlemen of the

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[95] Ibid., September 20, 1852, p. 307.

[96] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, June 9, 1832.

Garrison would contribute their quota.[97] Similar military stimulus was evident in the garrison town throughout the years during which the garrison was in residence. The editor of the Kingston Daily News expected the sport of horseracing to reach a peak there in 1864 owing to the recent arrival of the Rifle Brigade. The officers of this Imperial unit had brought several trained thoroughbreds to the North American colony with them and thus Kingstonians could expect to see the rebirth of this long-neglected amusement.[98] Other garrison towns reflected a similar degree of expectation from military sportsmen. At Halifax in 1851 the sport of horseracing suffered a serious setback when the notable Scottish sportsmen, the 72nd Highlanders were suddenly replaced by the 97th Regiment. This was not a slight against the newcomers, who may have been avid sportsmen themselves, but rather represented a major disappointment because ". . . the [72nd] officers being a dashing set of fellows, it was in contemplation to revive the sports of the turf during the present season."[99]

The sport of cricket provides an interesting portrait of the impact of military sportsmen on the success and popularity of an activity. When the bulk of the troops were recalled to Europe in 1854 to respond to the Crimean conflict, many Canadian garrison communities experienced a lull in the sport. At Kingston, only three companies of Royal Canadian Rifles remained in the town and these were short of their regular complement of men owing to the transfer of guard parties to various smaller stations. Consequently, the 1855 cricket season was a disaster, the Kingston club having lost all its matches and the cost of playing having soared since the club received so little support.[100] The 1856 response to the club's plea for support was better, however, a level of play comparable to that experienced prior to the troops' departure for the Crimea was not resumed until June, 1856 when the 9th Regiment arrived directly from the war zone. A match between these Crimean veterans and the local cricketers was immediately scheduled and the civilians proved victorious. The local cricketers revelled in their defeat of the military bowlers and batters just three weeks after their arrival in the town but the editor cautioned,

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[97] Ibid., June 20, 1838, p. 2.

[98] Daily News, Kingston, June 11, 1864, p. 2.

[99] Nova Scotian, August 18, 1851, p. 259.

> . . . we strongly recommend the Club not to plume itself too much on their first success. It must be remembered that the regiment is but just from the Crimea, where the practice was with balls and stumps of different material. They have not had time to get their cricketing back.[101]

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[100] Daily News, Kingston, April 10, 1856, p. 2.

[101] Ibid., July 11, 1856, p. 3.

But they were worthy adversaries nevertheless and were expected by Canadian cricketers to provide renewed and long-anticipated competition. Furthermore, because of the fine reputation for cricket among the regiments of the army institution, the soldiers were expected to be quite proficient "knights of the willow."

Because of the departure of the 52nd Regiment, the 1847 season in Montreal foreshadowed disappointment:

> The loss to the Club by the removal from Montreal of some of our most valued and respected players, will, for more reasons than one, be severely felt, and the departure of the gallant 52nd (a regiment ever to be held in high esteem by the Cricketing community of this city), will leave a vacuum in our ranks which will be difficult to fill up. It is invidious to particularize where all have done so well, but we can not let the present opportunity pass without recording the sense we entertain of the services of one gentleman connected with this distinguished corps - not so much with the desire of passing any elogium on distinguished merits, as with the view of letting Cricketers know and understand that the field and the bat are not the only points where merit may be displayed and services rewarded! The post of umpire is perhaps the most difficult in the field, and though affording no qualification further than is given by the triumph of pure intentions over the censure and suspicion which invariably attached to the office, none but a thorough Cricketer is competent to hold it. That the gentleman that discharged the duties of this office on so many occasions during the past season possessed this quality in a high degree, no one has heard him cry "play," or seen him "put up" the wicket, will for a moment deny. With the 52nd we lose him, and our regret is the greater as it is pretty certain "we shall never see his like more." Much strength, however, is expected from the other regiments which will be stationed in the town.[102]

The military's influence reached into many sporting circles and members of each anticipated that the soldiers would supplement and complement their present activities. British soldiers were accepted as competitors as a matter of fact and were expected to add colour to the sporting events in that capacity. But often, further responsibilities were heaped upon their shoulders. They were expected to provide quality leadership. They were constantly seconded by civilian sports committees as judges, umpires, club officers and event stewards. The inherent organizational nature of the army institution was embodied in the regimental officers, and colonial sportsmen were quick to capitalize on the soldiers' expertise.

But a fine line must be drawn when one considers the precise meaning of the word leadership, especially with respect to the role of garrison personnel in the Canadian sporting milieu. Was the leadership exhibited by the British soldiers (predominantly officers) active or was it passive, involving mere patronization? That colonial sportsmen looked to the military in both roles is certain. Senior officers, especially, were looked upon both as sports figureheads, lending the prestige of their social and military rank to sporting events, and as dedicated sportsmen

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[102] Montreal Gazette, April 23, 1847, p. 2.

who actively provided a leadership role. The critical question concerns the intentions of the officers themselves. Were they mere "social butterflies," engaging in sporting activities in order to bolster their social standing within the community, or were they truly dedicated sportsmen who wished to enhance their colonial experience and contribute to the development of Canadian sport, or between these poles?

As suggested previously, garrison personnel were rarely elected to serve as officers of the various sporting clubs which sprang up in Canadian communities. This was, of course, a reflection of the institutional nature of the army as a transient force. Army sport was largely institutionalized as well, thus garrisons boasted military or garrison clubs in most sports. In cricket, for example, officers belonged to the military organization in preference to the civilian club. Perhaps they were obligated or even ordered to assist the military club. As a result, garrison officers were rarely members of local cricket executives. From the civilians' perspective, the transient garrison officer would not be an attractive club official since, as suggested previously, he might be transferred from the community at a moment's notice.

In horseracing, however, a sport in which military personnel amalgamated with the civilians, club officers were commonly soldiers. Garrisons did not maintain

"Garrison Turf Clubs." Thus, military officers were actively engaged in the organization and operation of these bodies. They were frequently solicited as club officials because of their well-developed organizational ability and the potential influence which they might exert. They could, for example, request fatigue parties to work on local tracks and often did. Military officers were heralded as club secretaries, seemingly because they could readily utilize the garrison Military Secretary's Office in order to conduct club business. It was a convenient facility.[103] While the soldiers' organizational expertise was recognized, so too was their clout. They could achieve things that were beyond the reach of the average citizen. For these reasons they were welcome additions to the sporting clubs of the garrison community.

The involvement of garrison officers in the sport of curling is somewhat of an enigma. Generally, soldiers were not involved in the sport. Only Highland regiments participated in colonial competitions as distinct units. But periodically an officer would join the ranks of the local club, and surprisingly, he would almost always assume a leadership role. Perhaps the most noteworthy soldier to assume a position as a member of a curling club executive was a Highland officer, Captain H. M. Drummond of the 42nd

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[103] See the Nova Scotian, March 5, 1834, p. 75.

Royal Highland Regiment. At the 1851 annual meeting of the Halifax Curling Club, Capt. Drummond was elected as the club president.[104] Drummond executed the terms of office admirably for two years during which time the "roarin' game" prospered in Halifax and players enjoyed numerous matches for the "beef and greens." Prior to the commencement of the 1853 season, however, Drummond's regiment was recalled to Great Britain. Upon his return to the mother country, the captain purchased "a magnificent pair of prize Curling Stones" and sent the silver mounted stanes to Halifax with the instructions that they be competed for annually by the members of the club.[105] The trophies remained the centre of heated competition for many years thereafter.

British officers were frequently approached to judge sporting events. We have previously seen that Montrealers lauded the military as cricket umpires. In Halifax, regatta umpires were always appointed from the ranks of the officers of the Royal Navy. Usually, token judges would be selected from the army and civilian sportsmen too.[106]

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[104] Ibid., December 15, 1851, p. 395.

[105] Ibid., March 20, 1854, p. 1.

[106] See for example, the Nova Scotian, September 13, 1858, p. 5. It would appear that naval personnel were invited to judge the annual regatta events because of their extensive involvement in the organization of the activities. The Royal Navy usually provided a warship as the judging platform thus it was perhaps simply a courteous or political gesture on the part of the regatta managing committee. But

At equestrian gatherings, the judge (normally only one was appointed) was usually a garrison officer. The credibility of British officers was rarely questioned and their social position predisposed them to serving in this capacity.

As stewards, garrison officers managed myriad sporting events. In some instances, the military stewards appeared to dominate the arrangements of an event whereas at other times they appeared to be simply figureheads, military representatives of the army institution. In the latter situation, it seemed that civilian organizers were merely recognizing the soldiers' presence and accommodating their representatives. Thus, one would suspect that the contribution made by these officers to the development of the particular sport would be minimal. They were invited to attend the managing committees out of respect for the military institution, not with the expectation that the success or failure of the events was dependent on their contribution. At the same time, however, an abundance of military officers among steward lists was common and this suggests that they were integral to the success of the event. Generally, the precise nature of the soldiers' role in this capacity was sport specific.

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then, the majority of the members of the managing committees were naval officers. They may have predominated simply because they were judging their own labours.

In Montreal in 1840, horseraces were scheduled over a three day period at the St. Pierre Course. The Montreal Turf Club was, at this time, primarily a civilian body, with civilians composing the club executive. But of eleven stewards named for the event, nine were garrison personnel. While this disproportion of stewards would seem to suggest that the meeting was largely a military affair, such was not the case. At this time, the Montreal garrison was the headquarters of the British Army in the Canadas. The city was teeming with troops as a result of Great Britain's reaction to the internal political strife of 1837. Military stewards consisted of the highest ranking officer in garrison, the two resident A.D.C.'s (aides-de-camp), and representative officers from the 7th Hussars, 66th, 73rd, 81st and 85th Regiments and the Royal Artillery.[107] While the number of stewards from the military was substantial, what was the impact of their involvement? Similarly in the early sixties, when Canadian garrisons were bolstered in response to the United States Civil War, military stewards predominated. For the 1862 Montreal and Quebec Autumn Meeting, fourteen stewards were named: three civilians, two A.D.C.'s, two officers of the Scots Fusilier Guards, and representatives from the Grenadier Guards, 16th, 17th and 47th Regiments, the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and 60th Rifles.[108] Throughout the nineteenth century, civilian clubs appeared careful to include each military unit that happened to be in garrison at the time. This makes it more difficult to accurately assess the contribution of the soldiers to the development of Canadian horseracing.

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[107] Montreal Gazette, July 2, 1840, p. 2.

The same situation generally prevailed in Kingston. Even in Halifax, where horseracing was a product of the military garrison, stewards normally represented the civilians and each corps in garrison.[109] The precise role of the military stewards may have been illustrated by the Montreal Gazette on July 18, 1866 when the editor first advertised the upcoming autumn meeting:

> The names of the distinguished officers and citizens who have taken an interest in the arrangements and consented to act as stewards are a sufficient guarantee that everything will be conducted in the most satisfactory manner . . . . The sports and pastimes of a people are not unfrequently fair indices of the national character. The love of animals and field sports is universal amongst the population of the British Isles, and the Anglo-Saxon seldom loses his love for them whether he may be under the hot sun of India or in the icy regions of the Northern dependencies of the Empire.
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> The Army of the Duke of Wellington had its pack of hounds in the Peninsula, and we

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[108] Ibid., August 6, 1862, p. 2.

[109] See for example, the Nova Scotian, May 13, 1841, p. 151.

> all remember the accounts which reached us of the Military Races in the Crimea.[110]

The soldiers represented the sporting culture and society of Great Britain. The stewards provided for the arrangements of the events and thus many of the officers engaged in this capacity would have been integral to the success of the races. They were sought for their expertise and while some were undoubtedly mere representatives, most were 'genuine equestrians' and made a positive contribution to the arrangements and ultimate success of Canadian race meetings.

Because horseracing was an activity in which the Imperial forces took no formal institutional position, it is particularly enlightening with respect to the impact of stewardship. But it is important to note that civilian executives recognized the institutional divisions of the forces (ie. regiments, ships, Royal Artillery companies) and made exertions to accommodate each of them.

Officers also served as stewards at regattas, skating exhibitions, fox hunts and steeplechases, athletics and shooting competitions. The extent of military stewardship at regattas appeared to be determined by the location of the event. At Montreal, where the sport was a civilian-run venture, military stewards rarely surpassed their non-uniformed counterparts in number and were usually just regimental representatives. As compared to the sport of horseracing, one receives the impression that at aquatic events at Montreal, the military role was decidedly insignificant.[111] At Kingston too, where the garrison was never extraordinarily large, aquatics' stewards were mainly civilians. For the 1860 regatta, military stewards comprised only two of the seventeen members of the managing committee, despite the impending visit of H.R.H. Prince of Wales.[112] At Halifax, where regatta events were products of the Royal Navy, officers were included from each unit in garrison as well. But here, military stewards always outnumbered civilian representatives. Perhaps because the garrison was larger and more diverse than those at Montreal or Kingston, it was rare that more than two or three civilians were included among the committees of management in the early years of the century.[113] Later, however, when the sport appeared to be entrenched in the community more firmly, civilians assumed a more dominant role.

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[110] For an interesting sketch of the extent of sport practised by officers on active duty in Spain during the early years of the nineteenth century, see Capt. Lionel Dawson, Sport in War, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937, pp. 49-56. In this example, an officer followed his hounds through the British front line and when Reynard crossed into the French controlled zone, the British Nimrod was captured by a patrol of French Light Cavalry. The avid sportsman's imprisonment lasted but one night much to the delight of his colleagues. He was escorted to the buffer zone the following morning because the French could not stand the constant yelping of the hounds.

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[111] See for example, the Montreal Gazette, June 23, 1868, p. 1. This is a truly representative example. Imperial officers comprised two of eleven regatta stewards at this event. These soldiers represented the only two regiments in garrison at the time, the 16th and the 100th, two others, the 78th Highlanders and 60th Rifles having recently departed for Quebec to assist in the construction of fortifications.

[112] Daily British Whig, Kingston, August 17, 1860, p. 3.

The influence exerted by military stewards was a reflection of the extent of the soldiers' role in the practice of a particular pastime. In 'major' events, such as horseracing and regattas, the extent of military involvement was determined by the degree to which the sport had developed. For example, as civilian clubs became more active, the influence of the Imperial forces decreased. In skating events, which were organized by well-established civilian clubs, the involvement of the British officers was minimal.[114] Conversely, in shooting and steeplechase events, which were largely successful owing to military patronage, the stewards were mainly British officers. But even in these events, representation from each unit of the military institution was required.[115]

Perhaps the greatest leadership contribution made by the soldiers was manifest when they stimulated the original organization of sporting events. In horseraces, steeplechases, regattas, shooting events, athletic competitions, sleighing excursions, cricket and football, the military generated interest. Numerous horseracing programs were carried through "with spirit and military regularity"[116] and editors often surmized that: "The Gentlemen of the Garrison deserve great credit for the manner in which everything was managed."[117] In Halifax, the success and origin of the sport was the result of military exertions. After the sport was banned in the 1840s owing to intemperance and the concomitant problem of crowd control, the military was instrumental in reviving the sport in 1857, in part by supplying troops to police the ground.[118] Similar accolades were received in other sporting activities.

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[113] See for example, the Nova Scotian, July 6, 1826, p. 251. Of twelve managing stewards, only two were civilians.

[114] See the Daily News, Kingston, November 28, 1863, p. 2.

[115] See the Montreal Gazette, November 1, 1856, p. 3;

Even in lacrosse, a sport in which the Imperial regulars showed little interest, regimental officers were praised for introducing a new element to the game and thereby stimulating interest in the sport itself. When the sport experienced phenomenal growth in Montreal in 1867, it was proposed that an Indian lacrosse squad travel overseas to introduce the sport to England. The Gazette claimed

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October 23, 1863, p. 2.

[116] Ibid., July 15, 1863, p. 2.

[117] Nova Scotian, October 14, 1850, p. 322.

[118] Howell, "History of Horseracing in Halifax," pp. 27-69.

that garrison officers were in fact the perpetrators of the scheme: "We are informed that the originator of this idea was prompted by the requisition of many officers of H.M. service and others, who wished the game introduced into England."[119] In most sporting activities, Imperial officers, at one time or another, attempted to stimulate interest in competitions. Frequently, as was the case at the Halifax regatta in 1856, the leadership and the resultant success of an event was owed to the British Nimrod. The Nova Scotian stressed that:

> The citizens will be pleased to secure the co-operation of the Gentlemen of the Army and Navy, for with their assistance, depend on it, - the regatta of 1856 will be atall affair.[120]

Such a statement was certainly justifiable since Halifax regattas, and many of the aforementioned activities, were largely held on military installations and utilized army equipment.

For the most part, military organizers were essential to the success of an activity. While some officers may have been involved as passive representatives, most were avid sportsmen themselves and normally competed in the events that they had helped to arrange. At fancy dress balls, garrison officers may have been mere "social butterflies," but on the sporting field they were dedicated sportsmen who desired to both enhance their own colonial sporting experience and contribute to the development of Canadian sport. The army institution attempted to mould a harmonious relationship with the colony in which it served, and in the garrison towns, sport was employed as a primary agent in this process.

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[119] Montreal Gazette, June 18, 1867, p. 2.

[120] Nova Scotian, September 22, 1856, p. 1.

Institutional Shortcomings

While the army institution did stimulate community interchange, particularly through sport, there were several inherent problems that accompanied the Imperial forces in the North American colony. These intersected most aspects of the army way of life, including the soldiers' involvement in sporting activities. Occasionally, even the institutional framework of the British Army was criticized, either because of the structure of the force itelf or because of the personality of the officer corps which epitomized the army. Frequently, a sense of élitism permeated the ranks. The civilian community, even the upper classes, often resented this. It was apparent in many sporting activities as well and may have been restrictive to the development of sport in Canada. The army sometimes restricted the involvement of the military personnel in sport, and this limited the soldiers' contribution to the ultimate growth of sport.

Because of garrison duties and responsibilities, soldiers were periodically stymied in their quest for sport. At Kingston, the editor of the Daily British Whig claimed that the troops' presence was so important that the second day of the 1851 fall races was disappointing despite quite a large attendance because the Colonel of the Rifles had been "very religious" and had taken the troops away on a sham fight excursion.[121] Another example occurred in 1865, when the officers of the popular Montreal Pedestrian Club were frustrated by the actions of the local military authorities. The annual races for that year were originally sponsored under the patronage of Major-General James Lindsay and the officers of the garrison. Because of this official sanction, numerous competitors were anticipated from the ranks of the resident garrison. But when the event came off at the Victoria Gardens in early October, the soldiers were sparse. Three thousand men of the Montreal force under General Lindsay had suddenly departed on maneuvers near St. John's and Chambly.[122] The athletic competitions suffered accordingly with the absence of the uniformed competitors.

Even the institutionalized sport of the army was perceived as restrictive. In 1858, a military officer examined the current recruiting problems that hampered the effectiveness of the army. One of his criticisms was aimed at the present form of physical activity practised in the British Army:

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[121] Daily British Whig, Kingston, October 16, 1851, p. 2.

[122] Montreal Gazette, September 30, 1865, p. 3; October 3, 1865, p. 1.

> The natural love of almost every man for gymnastics or athletic displays, is made in the soldier the dull routine of duty, where it exists at all. Why should the place for such exercises not be open at all hours . . . . Why should [the soldier] not be able to have himself, or see a couple of comrades take a set-to with the gloves, or a bout at single-stick, or fencing, or try who can jump or vault best.[123]

The army institution often confined men to barracks and this cancelled occasional sporting opportunities. During the summer of 1834, Kingston sport was non-existent owing to the prevailing cholera epidemic. The troops were confined to barracks and no contact with the town was allowed.[124] Whereas all Kingston sport was curtailed in this year, a similar situation two years previously in Montreal had a different result and the military were central figures. In June of that year, the colony was infested with this often fatal disease and although public gatherings were originally suppressed, a sporting controversy developed later in the summer. In response to an advertisement for the Fall Races, a reader suggested that the event should not be held in consequence of the present crisis.[125] Three weeks later, the Montreal Turf Club announced that the races would be held September 4-7 on the St. Pierre Course.[126] The military were involved as usual in every capacity. But on the eve of the races, the Board of Health resolved to put an end to the event in consideration of the lingering disease. Despite criticizing the authorities for their tardy decision, the editor of the Gazette supported the Board, emphasizing,

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[123] J. W. F., "How May the Army Be Made More Popular," p. 10.

[124] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, August 23, 1834, p. 2.

> not that we entirely disapprove of horse racing, like some of our contemporaries, but because at a time like the present, when nearly every family are in mourning for parents or friends departed, it would be highly improper to indulge in any thing like amusement.[127]

On the 6th of September, the Gazette reported that the races were held as scheduled despite the Board of Health's prohibition. Notably however, no military personnel were involved. Apparently, the soldiers were barred from competing by the officer commanding, evidently so as not to contravene the power of the civil authorities. In 1834, the races were cancelled and the troops were isolated on St.

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[125] Montreal Gazette, August 7, 1832, p. 2.

[126] Ibid., August 28, 1832, p. 3.

[127] Ibid., September 4, 1832, p. 2.

Helen's Island.[128]

Some sporting events were actively discouraged by the army. Among these were pugilistic encounters although extremely popular bouts were occasionally sanctioned by the authorities, much to the public's dismay.[129] But sometimes, even these were 'raided' by the civilian police since prize fights were illegal in Canada for much of the nineteenth century.[130] Regardless of the status of the criminal law, the British military authorities censured fisticuffs among the men. When a bout among Halifax garrison personnel came to the attention of senior officers in 1864, strict measures were taken. Official garrison orders soon clarified the army's opinion of these contests:

> Garrison Orders Town Major's Office,
> Halifax, 13 September, 1864
>
> No. 3 - It having come to the knowledge of the Major General Commanding, that a Prize Fight has lately taken place amongst the soldiers of this Garrison, in the neighbourhood of Halifax, a practice contrary to the law of Great Britain, and most especially

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[128] Ibid., August 16, 1834, pp. 2-3.

[129] See the Montreal Gazette, January 3, 1863, p. 3. Two thousand soldier and civilian spectators viewed a New Year's Day match between two Fusilier Guards at Point St. Charles. According to the Gazette: "The encounter was conducted in something like prize-ring style, the combatants fighting 31 rounds, and pounding each other till their countenances had lost all resemblance to the human face divine. The battle lasted one hour and thirty minutes."

[130] Ibid., February 11, 1863,p. 2.

> detrimental to the Discipline of the British Army, He has desired the parties concerned to be severely punished, and hereby cautions the Soldiers under his Command against the repetition of so disorderly a proceeding, and takes this opportunity of warning them that in the Event of its coming to his knowledge that a prize fight has taken place, either publicly or privately, He will try both Principals and Seconds by Court Martial for disobedience of this his positive order, and direct every man present at such fight to be severely punished.
>
> _____ The Major General Commanding desires, with reference to No. 3 of the General Orders of this day, that in the event of its coming to the knowledge of the Commanding Officers of Corps in the Garrison, that a Prize Fight is about to take place, they will use their best endeavours to prevent it, but should a fight have commenced without any previous intimation, they will at once detach a Picquet under the command of a Subaltern Officer, and make Prisoners of all the parties concerned, reporting the occurrence to the Town Major without loss of time for the information of the Town Genl Commanding.[131]

Such a stern order would most likely succeed as a deterrent. Regardless of the merits of the Army's decision, the sporting pursuits of garrison personnel were hampered whenever their sport was deemed as constituting behaviour unacceptable by senior officers.

Duty and the regulations of the army institution may have come between the rank and file and their sporting aspirations but rarely were officers inconvenienced in a similar way. Sir Charles Chichester stated that his requirements of duty during his first posting to the North

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[131] "Halifax Garrison Orders," PANS, MG 12 HQ, Vol. 110, pp. 20-1.

American colony, especially during the winter months, was far from exacting.[132] Twenty years later, in 1844, Chichester, now a rackets enthusiast, even shirked his duty in order to participate in a match. His diary entry on January 2 is fascinating:

> [Lt. Hewitson] was a very good racket player and would be happy to take the conceit out of me. The court was in good order and all ready. I was delighted at the chance of a good match, there is no fun playing with these spoons here, they have no more chance with me than I have with Gillman of the 68th, so I abandoned all my important duties, left the high savings Bank Ledger to take care of itself, and came home to get ready for the fray.

Lt. John Home Purves shirked duty once as well, but in his case, sport served a different purpose. In 1838 he was transferred from the glamour of the Quebec garrison to the social wilderness of Grosse Isle with a detachment of thirty men. The prospective duty did not appeal to Purves so he found another junior officer to take it for him on the condition that he would buy his colleague's pony. He did, for £22.[133] These examples suggest that officers were not restricted by duty imposed by their institutional responsibilities. Rarely were they stymied in their quest for sport.

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[132] Chichester, "Diary," 1823, n/p.

[133] John Home Purves, "Diary, Quebec, 1838," Public Archives of Ontario, MU 843-I-P-5, Toronto.

More serious than the army institution's occasional anti-sport position though was the garrison community's periodic anti-military stance. Whether officers were criticized for their idleness or other ranks for their conduct, poor relations ultimately affected sportsmen as well. Fortunately, these occurrences were rare. In sport, negative opinions regarding the military were expressed for several reasons. In 1852, one newspaper article suggested that the civilians were perhaps disgruntled at the apparent dependence on the soldiers for equestrian sport in Kingston. Good sport was expected for the fall races and the editor of the Whig stated that: "The Public owe the Races, and the Purses to be run for, to the untiring exertions of the excellent Secretary and Treasurer, Henry Armstrong, Esq. There has been no todying [sic] to the Military on this occasion."[134] Just why the Whig editor would resent the soldiers for their contribution to the sport of horseracing is not clear. Evidently, they overstepped their allowed social bounds. Nevertheless it does show that their usual contribution was considerable but that it was not always received in an appreciative fashion.

Perhaps the problem resulted from a bias which tainted the writing of that particular editor. Five months previously he had attacked the personality of the officers, claiming that they were "too piously inclined to suit [his] notions," and prior to that he had condemned the colonel of the Rifles for cancelling the evening performances of the regimental band.[135] The example was probably not a representative one.

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[134] Daily British Whig, Kingston, October 12, 1852, p. 2.

But as suggested previously, a more pressing institutional problem existed and permeated sport, namely, the inbred élitism that characterized the ranks. Whether at the theatre, where no soldiers or servants were allowed in the box seats,[136] or at the shooting butts, where soldiers from the other ranks were restricted owing to inflated entry fees,[137] a degree of élitism was evident. When the Montreal Curling Club travelled to St. John's to compete against the 71st Regiment in 1841, military officers, NCO's and privates worked together to defeat the civilian visitors. However, when the event was over and the groups gathered for the evening celebrations, the officers of the 71st entertained their guests at Sword's Hotel while the rank and file sportsmen, "who contended with their officers for the honours of the rink," were entertained with a dinner at a different hotel.[138] This provides an excellent example of the military caste or class system manifest in sport. The courtesies and privileges of the officer élite were most definitely discriminatory against the other ranks. But this was the foundation of the British Army, and the basis of corps discipline. There is no doubt that the system was propagated throughout the colony, especially in sport, despite examples to the contrary.[139] If the general view prevails that the democratization of Canadian sport was beneficial, then the military officer corps may have inadvertently hindered the development of sport in Canada, by its very nature. Thus, while there were many advantages accruing from the army's involvement in sport as a well-organized and disciplined body, one cannot overlook the parallel effects that may have exerted a negative influence on Canadian pastimes.

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[135] Ibid., May 29, 1852, p. 2; January 27, 1852, p. 2.

[136] Kingston Chronicle, December 17, 1831, p. 2.

[137] Montreal Gazette, March 13, 1863, p. 2.

[138] Ibid., February 4, 18, 1841, pp. 3 and 2.

The Institutional Interpretation: A Summary

The British Army was composed of individuals hailing from every social class of the homeland. Each entered the ranks, be they officers or enlisted personnel, with myriad experiences behind them. But these individuals assumed a similar military bearing in the army, a lifestyle which tempered many of the differences which marked their diverse character traits and social differences. As a tradition-oriented institution, the army wielded unlimited power which made soldiers conform to the mores of their new home. Even in sport the army institution patterned the soldiers' experience. In the North American colony, this resulted in a distinct sporting flavour which marked the army's presence.

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[139] Periodically, sport was employed in an effort to develop a "fraternal kind of regimental freemasonry." (Daily News, Kingston, August 27, 1864, p. 2.) This has been examined previously. Supra., p. 221.

Throughout the nineteenth century the army was seen to be lacking in several departments. Even after the introduction of moderate social reforms in the 1830s, problems characterized the soldiers' lifestyle. A recreational philosophy soon developed and was promoted by the officers of regiments of the line, several of whom served in Canadian stations. Official sports legislation followed and soon the army strove to meet the requirements of this newly-introduced leisure. Sports facilities were built and equipment was provided for garrisons throughout the empire, including British North America. This was a boon to local sport.

A distinct sporting perspective was soon realized by the troops toiling in Canada. The military authorities provided both recreational pastimes and activities which contributed to the well-being of the institution itself, through training and the improvement of morale. But in so doing, the military authorities also enhanced the locals' sporting experience in numerous ways. Positive interchange between the garrison and the community resulted. Gradually, sport became a primary agent in the army's program of colonial diplomacy. It may have been an inadvertent by-product in the beginning, but soon the army perceived many of the beneficial ramifications which surfaced through sporting contacts. So, too, the civilians quickly recognized the soldiers' sporting needs, and attempted to facilitate their leisure. A sporting symbiosis developed.

But much was owed to the British Nimrod. The townspeople looked for leadership to the military sportsmen who were normally quick to provide it. While this assistance assumed many forms, the contribution remained a salient feature of the developing mosaic of Canadian sport.

At the same time though, there were problems which resulted from the institutional nature of the Imperial force. Duties, both regular and extraordinary, restricted sporting contacts. The army institution simply did not appeal to many colonists and similar opinions were certainly held by many sportsmen. In fact, the inherent élitism of the British Army may have delayed the arrival of the democratization of Canadian sport. But these shortcomings pale in light of the many contributions accruing from the army institution. Canadian sport prospered as a result of the soldiers' presence, for their organizational expertise if for nothing else.

CHAPTER IV

Waving the Flag Through Sport: A Political Interpretation

Introduction

To a large extent, the lifestyle experienced by the Imperial regulars in the North American colonies, and the status that the British Army attained was conditioned by the tenor of Imperial relations. Because the military forces were the most salient representative of Great Britain in the colonies, an examination of the relationship between the troops and the colonists becomes a crucial element in the investigation of the contribution of the soldiers to the development of Canadian sport.

Surely the overt political situation, particularly with reference to the independent American states, altered the lifestyle of the garrison personnel throughout the period in question. But one must wonder, in lieu of the numerous sporting contributions of British officers, whether, in fact, the army institution intentionally attempted to give political character to sport. The previous chapter has clearly indentified a pragmatic reason for the introduction of sporting pastimes among the troops. But did the Colonial Office itself encourage a particular sporting policy intended to preserve those things British in the North American colonies?

Certainly there was a large degree of political recognition exercised by both the Imperial regulars and the colonists. Sport was employed in a large measure to foster good relations between the troops and their colonial neighbours, but did it serve a covert purpose?

Political history has become "particularly endemic" since the rise of nationalism.[1] Although the city states of early Greece exemplified many of the characteristics which we now assume to be representative of nationalistic fervour, most historians assert that the turn of the nineteenth century marked the emergence of the roots of today's nationalistic tendencies. But regardless of one's historical preference, the military has often been the backbone of a particular nation's character. In ancient Greece, Sparta was a militarily oriented society. The city state was preserved by military brawn and ultimately assumed a distinct military character. The nationalism which emerged in early nineteenth century Europe reflected a similar military disposition. France, Prussia, Russia and Great Britain looked to their respective armies as the champions of their very existence. Perhaps the constant periods of international conflict necessitated this. But another factor also emerged, that of colonialism. For France and Great Britain, the struggle for the continent of

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[1] Commager, The Nature and Study of History, p. 19.

North America became a major concern. When the British forces prevailed under Wolfe in 1759, it became necessary for the Crown to promote those things British in the newly acquired colony.

In North America, the Imperial forces were the natural agents of the British Government. Because of the threat of hostilities with the Indians or the French, or years later with the newly-fledged American republic, the British Government was required to garrison troops in the colony. The soldiery became a constant feature of the Canadian landscape and ultimately, were perceived by the colonists as representatives of the Crown. Politically, the Imperial forces became the representative bastion of the British Empire and the North American colony became essentially an extension of Great Britain itself. For many colonists, the army served as a tie with their homeland. The social tie became particularly strong. Thus the relationship between the army and the colony becomes a crucial element in the investigation of the contribution of the military to the development of Canadian sport. How did the military institution function within the colonial society? How was it received? If the British North American colony can be viewed largely as an extension of Great Britain itself, the question must then be raised concerning the balance between emerging national pride as exemplified in the colony and the apparent dependence on maintaining a semblance of things 'British'. Despite political concerns, this colonial incongruence may not have affected the broad society, including sport. But the emergence of nationalism rarely fails to invest the people with similar feelings. And the colonists, lacking the politicians' oratorial stage, incorporate their nationalistic feelings in their very lifestyle. The British Parliamentarians would have recognized this and thus perhaps the Imperial force was intended to serve as a 'goodwill ambassador', a tie with the homeland. Sport may have served as a primary agent.

The precise impact of this attempt to make political gain in the colony is difficult to measure. Whenever the colony was threatened by an external force, the political and social climate became noticeably pro-British. Whenever British troops embarked on what was presumed to be a just crusade, such as the Crimean War, colonists rallied behind the Crown and exalted their British heritage. But that conflict may have marked the political and social turning point. The army was severely criticized after the Black Sea strife and the British Crown was ultimately tarnished as a result. At the same time, Canadian politicians were striving for political autonomy and viewed the Crown as a mere benefactor, especially with regard to colonial defence. By 1860, the role of the army as a tie with the homeland was disintegrating. The garrisons had always been important economically, especially when the embryo Canadian communities were becoming established. While the towns grew, the troops' social and cultural contributions to Canadian life were equally great, yet, as expressed by Stacey, the Canadian clime had matured by the time the regiments were recalled in 1871 and the impact of each British regiment as ". . . a little section of the mother country set down on a distant shore" had lessened considerably.[2] If sport mirrors society then one would expect that the impact of the military on the Canadian sport scene would have abated too.

A political interpretation of the impact of the Imperial forces on the development of sport in British North America can assume two distinct stances. First, the overt political situation which prevailed at the time exerted a profound influence on the soldiers' ability to contribute to the practice of sport in the colony. The presence of the garrison alone implies a perceived threat, mainly from the United States in this case. The disposition of troops in the colony was determined largely by the political situation in North America and also by that which concerned Great Britain in foreign lands. The political climate patterned the soldiers' lifestyle in the colony and this, in turn, determined their sporting contributions.

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[2] Stacey, Canada and the British Army, p. 261.

Second, and more interesting, is the political propagandizing for which the Imperial forces became a primary agent. The British forces were established representatives of the Crown, a fact that did not escape the attention of the colonists. They recognized the army institution and appeared to make every effort to appease the troops. Evidence suggests that sporting contacts may have been used by the civilian population to enhance their position in the eyes of the Crown. But the major interest rests with the military forces and their reasons for becoming involved in colonial sport. Did they intentionally politicize sport insofar as they actively tried to invest sport with some type of political character? Did the Imperial forces have an organized, officially sanctioned policy regarding sport? Perhaps the military perceived in sport an opportunity to show their presence, to wave the flag. Perhaps sport was seen as a light-hearted platform from which to sponsor amicable relations between the troops, representing as they did an old world power, and the expatriate colonists of British North America.

At the same time, could the garrisons' involvement in local sport have represented a covert attempt by the military authorities to preserve the new colony as a "British" domain? This might explain the soldiers' reluctance to enter activities that were foreign to their homeland.

The Imperial forces stationed in Canadian communities did contribute to the development of local sport in many ways. But were these contributions the result of a conscious attempt to facilitate the sporting experiences of the colonists, or even the soldiers themselves, or were they merely the expected result of political propaganda espoused on behalf of the British Government? Were the troops instructed to preserve the colony, defend the colony and play in the colony, or rather, to preserve and defend the colony through play?

The Political Climate and Sport

British troops were present in Canada owing to the threat perceived by the home government to the security of the North American colony. When French officials were ousted in the 1760s most of the habitants were destined to remain in what had been New France. The interim military government which subsequently ruled the colony necessitated the presence of a large body of British regulars to enforce its administration of the country. In the ensuing years, problems of sovereignty and the American Revolutionary War ensured that the Canadas and the Maritimes were garrisoned with substantial military forces. Whenever periods of military unrest threatened the colony, from within or without, regimental battle colours were unfurled. Even following the introduction of responsible government after the 1837 rebellions, the burden of the defence of the colony rested with the Imperial government. Only after the confederation of the North American provinces in 1867 did the British Government renounce its defensive responsibilities in the colony. Still, the troops were not embarked until 1871. As a result, British troops were constantly in garrison in British North America.

Despite the perceived threat of open warfare or political insurrection, British troops were rarely called upon to defend the colony. Consequently, they spent endless hours performing tedious duties and became listless when not required to do so. There were few alternatives for the troops. The military authorities recognized this and eventually implemented recreational pastimes in order to lighten the lifestyle of garrison personnel. The ramifications of their actions for the particular lifestyles of officers and the rank and file and on the army institution itself have been noted. Ultimately, Canadian sportsmen prospered from the exertions of their military neighbours.

But the nature and extent of the soldiers' contributions to the development of Canadian sport was conditioned by the requirements of their duty and the colonists were quick to realize this. Whenever the troops were called away as a result of political upheavals they were sorely missed. The 1854 Crimean crisis provides the best example. When the general withdrawal was announced in Kingston in September, the townspeople mourned their loss.[3] At Halifax, where a large regular naval force remained, the reduced garrison led the Nova Scotian editor to remark that military matters were then very dull in the once bustling garrison town.[4] Even the usual parades lacked interest because there were fewer men than normal under arms. And sporting exchanges were affected as well. The 1855 regatta survived owing to the presence of a substantial naval contingent,[5] but cricket was conspicuous by its absence.[6] In Montreal, the socially élite racquet club declined considerably in popularity when the Imperial officers were withdrawn for service in the

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[3] See for example, the Daily British Whig, October 13, 1854, p. 2; June 2, 1855, p. 2; July 11, 1855, p. 2.

[4] Nova Scotian, July 30, 1855, p. 1.

[5] Ibid., July 30, 1855, pp. 1-2; August 22, 1855, p. 2.

[6] Despite the presence of the 76th (Hindoostan) Regiment, no matches were reported during 1855 or 1856. The soldiers played the Halifax Cricket Club in September, 1854 (Nova Scotian, September 18, 1854, p. 3). The next military match was reported by the Nova Scotian on June 15, 1857, p. 3.

Crimea.[7] But then, racquets was a sporting activity in which military players predominated.

The Fenian attacks of the 1860s denied British troops the opportunity to participate in community sport as well. After the June, 1866 attack on Fort Erie, regulars stationed at Montreal left the city in order to undergo maneuvers closer to the battle zone.[8] In fact, an international cricket match arranged to take place between the garrison and an eleven from New York was cancelled on account of the disturbances.[9] Of course these were merely isolated incidents which stemmed from isolated political problems. In a broad sense, they did little to disrupt the sporting interchange between the garrison and the host community.

Conversely, political interruptions may have stimulated sporting contacts between the soldiers and the civilians. Despite a temporary lean period when sports exchanges were possibly non-existent, the return of the troops signalled a renewed level of interest in numerous sports, many of which surpassed previous showings. Cricket in Montreal experienced a noticeable lull during the Crimean conflict.

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[7] Nancy Howell, L. Maxwell Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969, p. 41.

[8] Montreal Gazette, June 4, 1866, p. 2.

[9] Ibid., June 4, 1867, p. 2.

Prior to the start of the 1855 season of play the club executive announced that it would attempt to ". . . become livelier this year."[10] But during that summer, the first match did not come off until June 29 and only four contests were recorded.[11] No military players were present. Following the signing of the armistice in the Crimea in April, 1856, considerable interest was shown by those who attended the general meeting of the Montreal Cricket Club. It appeared that the return of the British warriors was the stimulus which created the renewed interest:

> The Club, we understand, intends to prosecute the fine old English game with great vigor, and their prospects of an excellent season are cheering. A good many games of interest will likely be played, and if a couple of regiments be stationed in Montreal, no doubt, the Club will have their hands full.[12]

The soldiers were at least expected to provide good competition. Perhaps the editor was expressing an opinion too, that to defeat the military cricketers would give the local club a certain status. A military-civilian rivalry would be a boon to the sport.

After examining the sporting trends which appeared in Canada prior to Confederation, Lindsay concluded that when the troops were recalled for service in the Crimea there was a noticeable decline in reported sporting competition.[13] Although this has been confirmed the present study, one must question whether that realization is sufficient evidence that the success or failure in maintaining sporting competitions was dependent on the presence of the Imperial forces. Upon consideration of this query, it became evident that in Halifax, Montreal and Kingston, all local news was overshadowed by reports from the Black Sea. It is quite possible that sports reports were left out in favour of more newsworthy items of interest from the war zone. This would explain the noted drop in reported sporting competitions. That the military sportsmen were missed is certain; they were actively sought out by civilian clubs as competitors wherever they were stationed. Apparently, the impact of their departure on the growth of Canadian sport has been exaggerated.

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[10] Ibid., June 11, 1855, p. 2.

[11] Ibid., June 30, p. 2; July 14, p. 2; August 22, p. 2; September 14, p. 2, 1855.

[12] Ibid., May 13, 1856, p. 2.

Nevertheless, periods of military unrest both in the colony and abroad undermined the soldiers' participation in the various sport forms practised by their Canadian neighbours. But the political climate in British North America was largely peaceful and conducive to the practise of recreational pursuits. Despite periodic absences from the colony as a result of wartime service, military competitors and organizers had a positive effect on the development of sport in the communities in which they were stationed. But there may have been an underlying assumption, held by both the civilians and the soldiers, that conditioned their sporting interchanges. Sport may have assumed political characteristics of a different tone.

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[13] Lindsay, "The Impact of Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America," p. 40.

Imperial Recognition Through Sport: The Patronization of the Crown

The civilians and soldiers employed sport as a means of recognition of the other group. Because the local sportsmen of a particular community identified the Queen's representatives as a special group, they were quick to invite members of the local establishment of the military institution to participate in their activities. Despite the fact that the soldiers were competent athletes and would therefore have been admirable protagonists, there may have been an underlying motive behind the civilian invitations. Perhaps the civilian sportsmen used sport to appease the troops and demonstrate that they were loyal to the Crown. Club officers, for example, may not have enlisted the aid of regimental sporting representatives for needed organizational expertise, but rather, may have simply intended to recognize the various corps in garrison.

Political propagandizing through sport was evident in several activities. Rarely were military stewards employed on committees of management when not all resident military corps were represented, and represented evenly, normally one officer from each unit. Regimental representatives were recruited in three major ways. Those who could be expected to make the greatest contribution to the development of a sporting activity were soldiers who volunteered to serve in an official capacity. Normally, the interest exhibited by these officers would stem from the fact that they were avid competitors in the particular sport. Their involvement would escape this political influence. Next were those who were recruited. Senior officers were often approached to fill required positions. Prior to the Montreal Autumn Horserace Meeting in 1866, the editor of the Gazette praised those who had consented to act as stewards, including military officers. Of the third type were those who simply joined the steward lists because their units had not yet been represented. Newspapers bore numerous examples of this. On August 12, 1830, the Montreal Gazette announced that the annual fall races were scheduled to take place in one month's time. Five civilian stewards and two military stewards had been named. Representing the military headquarters was the Town Major and representing the 66th Regiment was a lieutenant. But apparently no one had volunteered from the ranks of the Royal Artillery so the editor wrote simply: "___________, R.A." In this situation as in many, the military did not play a significant role as organizing stewards. The positions appeared to be purely honorary, a courtesy representation.

Similar corps representation was evident in other sporting competitions besides horseracing. When subscriptions were raised and a committee was selected for the purchase of a lot and the building of a racquets court in Montreal in 1862, each military unit in the city was represented by a senior officer. The Colonels of the 16th Regiment and the Scots Fusilier Guards and an aide-de-camp from the Royal Engineers joined five civilians on the resulting committee.[14] For the annual steeplechase of the Montreal Hunt in 1866, the large number of units in garrison in response to the Fenian incursions necessitated that a large body of stewards be appointed. Besides the Commander-in-Chief, Major General Lindsay, officers from the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, the 25th King's Own Borderers, the Rifle Brigade, the 13th Hussars, the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers represented their corps as stewards. To balance the military numbers, seven civilians served in the same capacity.[15] At Halifax, the membership of regatta committees followed a similar pattern yet provided a clear example of the navy's dominance. For the 1850 regatta organizational meeting, five officers of the Royal Navy headed the list of stewards. They were joined by three civilians and one officer from each of the 38th Regiment, 1st Royals and the Royal Artillery.[16] The squadron based at Halifax had always taken the lead in aquatic matters and in 1850, the officers of the H.M.S. Wellesley had invited the garrison and the citizens of Halifax to join them in sponsoring the event. Regardless of who was behind the promotion of a sporting event, it seemed that equitable military representation was a requisite feature.

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[14] Montreal Gazette, March 11, 1862, p. 2.

[15] Ibid., October 8, 1866, p. 2.

Similar patronization was extended to the British regulars other than as mere unit representatives on stewardship rolls. Officers commanding stations and the commander of the forces in the colony were frequently seconded by civilian sports clubs to serve in some official capacity. While these requests may be construed as a conscious attempt to add a degree of credibility to the event in question, it is more reasonable to assume that the civilian sportsmen were simply recognizing the military institution. These senior officers were the premier representatives of the Crown in the colony and it was fitting that they be requested to oversee social events, be they sporting ones or others. As political propaganda of this nature, sporting competitions provided a visible platform.

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[16] Nova Scotian, August 19, 1850, p. 259.

Examples of patronization such as this were evident in each garrison in countless sporting activities. At Kingston in 1863, a Provincial Regatta was organized. Three patrons were named for the event including one civilian, the colonel of the regiment of the line then in garrison and the colonel of the detachment of Royal Artillery.[17] As the senior British officers in the garrison at the time, the unit colonels were frequently requested to lend their patronage to sport. The colour of their entourage may have made the activities more attractive to the assembled spectators, but it is clear that the civilian sportsmen were simply patronizing the Crown by inviting its representatives to assume such official positions.

At Montreal, the headquarters of the British Army in the Canadas for much of the period under study, this patronization is especially evident. The resident commander of the forces was installed as a steward or patron of most sporting clubs in the community, even competing groups. In the early 1860s, Lieutenant General Sir William Fenwick Williams commanded the troops in the Canadas. During the winter of 1860, Williams served as a steward with the Montreal Snow Shoe Club and as a patron with the Aurora Snow Shoe Club.[18] Apparently, his loyalties were not questioned, rather, it was an honour to note his presence. Perhaps the Montreal Skating Club best expressed the meaning of his presence when they welcomed Williams as "a distinguished guest" at the 1860 opening of the newly erected rink.[19] During his command in the early sixties alone, Williams patronized the local snowshoe clubs, the skating club, the cricket club,[20] the committee of management of the regatta,[21] the hunt and steeplechase clubs,[22] the driving club,[23] and the annual rifle matches.[24] While Williams may have been an avid sportsman and may even have participated in some of these activities, such as the outings of the driving club, his real contribution concerned his approval of the various activities. He was an actual figure of power in the colony as well as a representative figurehead. Socially he was a salient feature of the community. Perhaps the toast given to Williams at the 1863 dinner of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club best exemplifies the role played by officers of his standing:

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[17] Daily News, Kingston, September 16, 1863, p. 2.

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[18] Montreal Gazette, February 20, 1860, p. 2; February 28, 1860, p. 2.

[19] Ibid., February 22, 1860, p. 2.

[20] Ibid., April 25, 1860, p. 2.

[21] Ibid., August 18, 1860, p. 2.

[22] Ibid., October 30, 1860, p. 3.

[23] Ibid., January 7, 1861, p.2; March 13, 1861, p. 2.

[24] Ibid., November 5, 1861, p. 2

> . . . the handsome manner in which General Williams has at all times come forward in favour of snow shoeing was well known to all the members of the Club, and also to the Public. The members of the Club had all seen the personal interest he took, by his presence on the ground, staying to the very last.[25]

It may have been an honour to have an event marked by the presence of such a notable figure, but from the civilian standpoint, it was merely the dutiful recognition of a senior colonial authority.

A similar situation prevailed in Halifax where it was not the senior officer of the British Army who usually assumed the ornamental role in sporting competitions there, but rather the ranking naval officer. When the officers of the H.M.S. Cumberland decided to contribute to the amusement of the citizens of Halifax in 1851 by sponsoring a regatta, Captain Sir G. F. Seymour, their commander, was appointed as the patron of the event.[26] But this would be expected since the regatta was of military origin. However, when the civilian Halifax Regatta Committee organized the 1855 competition and invited the Royal Navy to assist them, the resident naval commander-in-chief, Admiral Fanshawe and the Lieutenant-Governor were requested to serve as patrons.[27] Since Halifax was a major army base as well, the commander of the British Army then in garrison received similar invitations. In horseracing particularly, where sailors rarely excelled, the senior army commander, usually a major-general, assumed the patron's role at local race meetings.[28] Regardless of their rank or branch of service, Imperial officers commanding units were accorded the status commensurate with their position in the colony. Whenever social occasions called for the presence of these individuals they attained almost a ceremonial status. In sporting activities military commanders received similar recognition.

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[25] Ibid., March 14, 1863, p. 3.

[26] Nova Scotian, August 4, 1851, p. 242; August 11, 1851, p. 249.

It was significant that the most obvious example of civilian patronage through sport concerned the overall commander of the forces in British North America, the Governor-General. There was a certain status included in the position which appealed to the population, and sports clubs were eager to capitalize on it. In 1840, prior to the meeting of the first parliament of the province of Canada at Kingston, the local turf club applied to the Governor-General in order to solicit his patronage for the upcoming race meeting.[29] Unfortunately for the Kingston equestrians however, Lord Sydenham did not preside at the event, probably because of the deluge of business associated with the removal of the government to Kingston. But, by 1843, the club had prevailed and the races in that year were held under the patronage of Sir Charles Bagot. Not only was Bagot's patronage ceremonial, but the club had acquired a £25 donation for a race dubbed the Governor-General's Plate.[30]

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[27] Ibid., July 30, 1855, p. 2.

[28] See for example, the Nova Scotian, May 30, 1864, p. 7.

Whereas the inclusion of senior military officers was apparently obligatory, the Governor-General was petitioned because he added a unique dimension to the sporting events. Community sports clubs probably invited the politicians out of respect, such as was the usual case with military commanders, but their expectations of the impact of these individuals on the success of the particular competition was quite different. When Sir Edmund W. Head was delayed and could not attend the Grand Provincial Regatta at Kingston in 1856, organizers postponed the competition one day in order to accommodate him.[31] The committee's decision was probably made for practical reasons. The presence of the Governor-General ensured that there would be a large concourse of spectators assembled to view the event. In fact, whenever an event stretched over two or more days and the Queen's premier representative was present on the first day only, there was a severe drop in the number of spectators on the subsequent days of competition. Canadian sportsmen readily recognized this and in an attempt to improve the atmosphere of colonial sport, or more likely, to increase their gate revenue from spectators, they frequently invited Governors-General to attend their competitions.

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[29] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, July 18, 1840, p. 3.

[30] Ibid., July 19, 1843, p. 3.

This vice-regal patronage was evident in many sports, although major annual events such as horserace meetings and regattas customarily provided an opportunity for local clubs to petition such notable guests. In 1844, the Montreal Olympic Club sent an address to Governor-General Sir Charles Metcalfe requesting him to become the patron of the club. The gymnastic enthusiasts believed that ". . . should [His] Excellency graciously please to countenance their efforts, success [would] be certain."[32] Metcalfe's patronage was received for the Montreal Athletic Games that year as well.[33] In 1847, the members of the Montreal Thistle Curling Club requested that the Governor-General, the Earl of Elgin, become their patron and he was quick to give his assent.[34] Whether requests such as these were the product of mere patronization or a deliberate attempt to acquire some degree of notoriety for the respective sports club is difficult to ascertain. There were pragmatic gains to be made, for example, through increased spectatorism and the presentation of trophies or prizes for which to compete. But for the most part, petitions to such senior political figures suggest mere patronization, political propagandizing on the part of Canadian sportsmen.

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[31] Daily News, Kingston, September 20, 1856, p. 2.

[32] Montreal Gazette, April 16, 1844, p. 2.

Politicizing Sport as Propaganda: The Army's Perspective

Imperial forces were stationed in the North American colonies for several reasons. Traditionally, defence has been perceived as their most important military assignment. They represented the colonial tie with the home government and were responsible for enforcing parliamentary decisions. Ultimately, they were intended to preserve the North American colony as an imperial bastion, a slice of Great Britain firmly entrenched on another continent. Troop dispositions, which measured like a barometer the tenor of Anglo-American relations, support the theory that the Imperial regulars were primarily intended to serve as a defensive deterrent. However, there may have been another, less obvious reason for their presence. The troops may have been intended as colonial baby-sitters, keeping an eye on the wayward colony while maintaining and supporting a society that was essentially British in manner and outlook. A discussion raised by the United Service Journal in London in 1846 lends credence to this suggestion. In viewing the complete portrait of Canadian defence, the Journal asserted that the city of Montreal was undefended, save for a small work on the island of St. Helens. The city possessed no fortifications of any description and military engineers questioned whether it would offer an invading force any resistance whatsoever.[35] If this was the experts' opinion, why was there a military force in Montreal at all? It was the government capital and thus a certain defensive responsibility was necessary. But it was also the social and cultural capital of the colony, and the preservation of those things 'British' within the colony should begin there. The military could guarantee this. Sport, particularly of British extraction, could provide a medium for enhancing the colonists' opinion of, and longing for, those things of British origin.

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[33] Ibid., August 21, 1844, p. 2.

[34] Ibid., November 3, 1847, p. 2.

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[35] Ibid., January 9, 1846, p. 4.

The appearance of significant representatives of the Crown at Canadian sporting events must have suggested to the colonists that these respected guests had an interest in the activity which they had come to observe. But would the distinguished guests have attended the event for that reason alone? And would they all have necessarily been avid sportsmen? The Montreal Race Meeting in 1838 was attended by the Governor, Lord Durham, and the three top-ranking British officers in North America at the time, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Charles Fitzroy and Sir Charles Paget.[36] It is uncertain who in the party originally suggested that the troupe attend the races but it is unlikely that they all decided to attend owing to a personal interest in the sport of kings. Rather, the British generals were likely along as part of Durham's entourage and considered the occasion as a good opportunity to enhance their own image, and that of the British Crown, through the medium of a well-attended and convivial sports gathering.

Senior officers were political figureheads too. It was a good policy to show an interest in the amusements of the colonists if for no other reason than to become a familiar member of the garrison community. If the Governor-General or officers commanding were viewed in a positive light, so too would the British Government be assessed favourably. This would explain why the military authorities were strict in controlling the behaviour of the rank and file. Problems might have discoloured the colonists' view of the mother country. Conversely, any opportunity to realize political gain was not neglected by the Imperial authorities. In the late sixties, Prince Arthur, the Prince of Wales, was stationed in Canada as a lieutenant with the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade. It is doubtful whether Arthur ever did a regular day's duty because he was constantly ushered throughout the colony in showpiece fashion as a member of the royal family.[37] It was an opportunity for the authorities to promote the blood tie with the colony and they extracted the fullest benefit from the opportunity. It is significant that sporting competitions and activities attended by the Prince provided the most widely used platform in the pursuit of this political goal.

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[36] Ibid., August 21, 1838, p. 2.

The greatest threat to the security of Britain's dominance in the western hemisphere came from the United States. The menace was founded not only on political and military grounds, but also on cultural differences which invested the countries. Combined, the threat from these three was real and posed a severe problem for the colonial administrators. At the annual Montreal races in 1853, the threat was openly conveyed:

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[37] See for example, the Montreal Gazette, September 17, October 23, October 28, 1869.

> We were somewhat surprised however, to see the American flag hoisted at one of the stands, seeing that officers in Her Majesty's service were among the stewards on the occasion, and might, one would have thought, have prevented such a display.[38]

Discretion of course, was the better part of valor whenever international problems arose. But the sports stage had been used as a political platform because of its visibility and the editor of the Gazette felt that this warranted some immediate action on the part of the British officers in garrison, whose responsibility it was, in the editor's opinion, to preserve the colony as distinctly British.

But the British attempted to avoid open confrontations with the Americans and chose rather to promote good feelings towards the Crown through the maintenance and promotion of harmonious relations. Senior, in her examination of the Imperial regulars in their colonial setting at Montreal concluded that ". . . the links forged between the town and crown forces on the field of sport were perhaps the strongest of all."[39] And this was intentional.

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[38] Ibid., August 3, 1853, p. 2.

The garrison authorities often made a conscious effort to foster relations with the community through sport. Their endeavours were frequently the result of a desire to enliven the colonial society, both for themselves and their Canadian neighbours. If they succeeded, they would be more highly regarded in the eyes of the colonists. Thus, the military frequently allowed civilian competitors in what was really a military competition. In Montreal in the 1860s for example, civilians were allowed to compete in the normally restricted Brigade of Guards' Races.[40] In another example, the officers stationed at Halifax in the 1850s gave picnics to the inhabitants of the town for similar reasons.[41] When gymnastics became a regular feature of the soldiers' training at Halifax in the late sixties, the military authorities recognized a further value in the exercises as an entertainment for the citizens of the town. Furthermore, the resulting exhibitions raised monies that were given in aid of city charities, thereby enhancing still further their political value.[42]

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[39] Elinor L. Senior, "An Imperial Garrison in its Colonial Setting: British Regulars in Montreal, 1832-54," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 1976, p. 494.

[40] Montreal Gazette, June 21, 1864, p. 2.

[41] See for example, the Nova Scotian, July 21, 1856, p. 2.

[42] Ibid., June 27, 1870, p. 3.

At the same time, as has been demonstrated in Chapter III, the military authorities approved of the civilian use of facilities for sporting and recreational purposes. Obviously, there was an underlying political motive behind this policy decision. Although a general order instructing station commanders to follow this procedure was not found in either specific garrison or general orders, the near wholesale approval of facility requests suggests that this policy was in fact in vogue throughout the colony.

The political character of the sharing of military sports facilities was cogently illustrated by an incident that threatened to strain civil-military relations in Halifax in 1846. On June 28, the Morning Post reported that because of his political differences with the governor, Joseph Howe was not admitted into the military racquet court by the officers of the garrison when he attempted to join them in a friendly game of racquets. Sport had definitely assumed grave political overtones and the military were threatened with the defamation of their character at the hands of an enraged editor. But the military officers were evidently innocent and merely pawns in a sea of political turmoil. The editor of the rival Nova Scotian was determined to set the record straight:

> The 'Government Hireling' has revived the old falsehood about the Racket Court so fully answered a month or two ago. That the attempt was made to induce the military to

> minister to the Governor's prejudices, we have not a shadow of doubt, but 'that the officers of the garrison refused to admit Mr. Howe to a game of rackets with them' - is a down right lie. Mr. Howe, we believe, has ever received from the military that respect and courtesy which one gentleman expects and is entitled to receive from another.[43]

The Imperial forces were forced to be wary of problems such as this that could easily disrupt the harmony of relations with the local townspeople. While this is a sensational example, considering the stature of Joseph Howe, it adequately illustrates the political propagandizing which frequently pervaded sport.

In reality, it was the intention of the military authorities to use sport to counter problems such as this through the introduction of friendly competitions with the people of the towns in which they were garrisoned. Sporting interaction with the community could facilitate good relations between the soldiers and their Canadian neighbours, as could theatrical performances and ceremonial reviews. When good relations were secured, the task of preserving the colony from external influences would be considerably eased. Ultimately, the Imperial forces would keep the Union Jack flying over British North America. Therefore, one must appraise the soldiers' contribution to the development of Canadian sport with a critical eye. What at first might appear to be an intentional contribution could in reality be the result of political strategy espoused by the Colonial Office. While this would not alter the impact of the troops' efforts, it would provide an enlightening interpretive rationale.

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[43] Ibid., July 6, 1846, p. 211.

The Military, Nationhood and the Role of Sport

When British troops were recalled from the colony in 1871 their departure marked the passing of one of the last vestiges of the tie between the emigrant Canadians and their homeland. But by this time, the social structure of the colony had been altered dramatically and the cultural severance represented by the troops' departure was not as traumatic as it might have been if it had occurred twenty years earlier. By 1871, a united, confederated Canada was emerging. Independent nationhood was a reality. Coinciding with this political change was a social revolution in which sport assumed a dominant place. The two were inextricably woven into the fabric of emerging Canadian nationalism. In earlier times, when the people of British North America considered themselves as colonists, the Imperial forces provided a necessary social tie with Great Britain. The soldiers insured that a small piece of the motherland would be entrenched on the distant shores of the western hemisphere. The troops' practice of disporting themselves in traditional British amusements was a welcomed addition to the colonial society and the colonists readily enjoyed the soldiers' pastimes. However, by 1871, the image of sport reflected by the garrisons was incongruent with the emergence of nationalism amongst Canadians.[44]

But in the early years of the colony, the people of British North America were determined to invest their new home with a distinctly British flavour. There was a certain pride, and a psychological security which underscored their desire to maintain a semblance of British society. Sport was frequently perceived as the embodiment of this desire to create a cultural fusion with their place of birth. For example, in early Kingston a plea was made to support the sport of shinty so that the heritage of the town's transplanted Scotsmen would be preserved:

> As the Ancient Game of Shinty is now becoming foreign among Scotsmen in Canada, it is proposed in order to revive it, and thereby early recollection of their Fatherland, that natives of Ross-shire will play a game with those from any other County in Scotland, numbering equally with themselves, on an early agreed on day, the losing party paying for a dinner, and the usual accompaniments, to be discussed in the evening.[45]

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[44] For an interesting discussion of the "rapid metamorphosis," including sport, which invested the prevailing social system in British North America at the time see: R. Gerald Glassford, "Sport and Emerging Nationalism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada," Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Windsor, Ontario, 1972, pp. 15-26.

The challenge was accepted by the town's natives of Argyleshire and preliminaries for a match were drawn up. The contest was subsequently decided between twenty-eight players representing each county on the military's Point Frederick Parade Ground. The contest was inconsequential as each side "gained one hail" before darkness terminated the match.[46] As one Ross-shireman explained however, the result of the match was not of primary importance to the sportsmen:

> . . . losing or gaining the game is not the great object, but to revive the national game in the land of their adaption, and to bring Scotsmen in more close relationship with each other.[47]

The Scots were always fervent in their desire to preserve their cultural heritage through sport. Numerous examples similar to that illustrated above, survive for curling and the Caledonian Games. But those of English descent were conscious of their sporting heritage too. They were transplanted Britishers also and felt a need to sponsor the practise of their national pastimes. And they did promote these sports. Conversely, the sporting impact of the Irish in Canada is less obvious. Nevertheless, wherever people

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[45] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, January 18, 1843, p. 3.

[46] Ibid., January 28, 1843, p. 2.

[47] Ibid., January 25, 1843, p. 2.

of British origin settled, particularly the English and Scots, they were quick to establish the games of their homeland.

But the passage of time is a moderating force and those social pastimes that once marked the colonists' tie with the homeland were soon overlooked as more pragmatic concerns attracted the settlers' attentions. Those Kingstonians hailing from Ross-shire realized this and attempted to revive a recollection of their Fatherland through the practise of the ancient game of shinty. It follows then that those colonists of most recent immigration should also be those most compelled to search for the pastimes of their homeland, and furthermore, those most likely to contribute to the promulgation of British sport. Thus the personnel of the Imperial forces, arriving as they did direct from Great Britain, would have been looked upon to promote British sport in the North American colony.

Whenever British military personnel were lauded for their contributions to the development of sport in the colony a nationalistic theme also emerged. Distinguished officers were a salient feature of colonial horserace meetings and were praised for their contribution to the sport. But as the editor of the Montreal Gazette emphasized, the soldiers played a role more important than that of mere competitors and organizers:

> The sports and pastimes of a people are not unfrequently fair indices of the national character. The love of animals and field sports is universal amongst the population of the British Isles, and the Anglo-Saxon seldom loses his love for them whether he may be under the hot sun of India or in the icy regions of the Northern dependencies of the Empire.[48]

British military personnel epitomized this cultural contribution while they were stationed in North America. The soldiers were sporting ambassadors and forged a unique cultural link with the homeland. For this they were accorded just praise.

A Kingston editor believed that the athletic games inaugurated by Lt. Col. James Alexander for the improvement of his men did much more than provide a form of military training. They also provided a much needed measure of leisure for the people of the town and more importantly, promoted British spirit among the inhabitants.[49] Racquets afforded similar advantages. Not only was this sporting activity calculated to improve "the frame" and "the mind", but it was a "truly British sport."[50]

For the sport of cricket, Canadian sportsmen owe a significant debt to the military.[51] Perhaps no other sporting activity attained a cultural significance as did that practised by "the knights of the willow." Cricket was truly British, and as a British colony, Canada considered cricket as its national pastime. The breadth of play alone guaranteed this.

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[48] Montreal Gazette, July 18, 1866, p. 2.

[49] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, September 22, 1841, p. 3.

[50] Montreal Gazette, April 19, 1847, p. 2.

As a result of a challenge issued by the 24th Regiment Cricket Club to the people of Kingston in 1835, the sport of cricket was introduced to the town. But those individuals who witnessed the event at the time apparently relished it not only as the introduction of a recreational diversion, but as a meaningful cultural experience:

> We have often regretted that the athletic sports and manly games of England, Ireland and Scotland are so much neglected in this Province, and years before we took a seat in the editorial chair, we endeavoured, by communications to the various Kingston journals to promote their introduction, being confident that nothing would tend more to keep the true British feeling amongst immigrants than following the customs and pastimes to which they have been accustomed in their native land, and promote friendship and good will amongst those who, far removed from the homes of their fathers, should entertain brotherly feelings for each other. Cricket is of all manly games the most truly British and the most interesting and invigorating. In England it is the favourite recreation of all classes, and in this noble game all distinctions of rank are for the time forgotten, and the enquiry on the ground is not whether a player is a peer or a peasant,

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[51] Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," p. 90.

> but whether he is a good bowler, a good bat-man, or a good fielder? In all the other British foreign possessions we have visited, we have found the game as ardently pursued as in England itself.[52]

In subsequent years the editor assured his readers that it would afford him great pleasure to record in his columns the colonial progress of the old sports of the Fatherland.[53] After witnessing the exploits of the Garrison Club in 1843, he concluded:

> The region of the cricket ground afforded varied attractions hitherto seldom attainable here. To those who have mingled in the favourite pastimes in the old Country, and witnessed there the dexterity and agility of her sinewey Cricketers, the introduction of these Sports will be regarded with satisfaction; and we but perform our duty in recommending to the young men of this Province the display of their address in manly, exhilarating sports such as cricket.[54]

In the maritime provinces, the Imperial forces had landed with the first settlers and became instrumental members of the formative, local society. In Canada, after the conquest, the British settlers who emigrated to the former French colony were indebted to the Imperial regulars not only for their safety, but also for their cultural identity. Once this was secured, the soldiers were responsible for preserving and defending the British flavour in the colony. According to writers such as the Kingston editor, they did so admirably, often employing sport as the medium of their labours. Even into the 1860s, Canadian nationalism was essentially British imperialism, and the most salient British feature in the North American colony was the Imperial force.

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[52] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, August 1, 1835, p. 3.

[53] Ibid., June 28, 1843, p. 2.

[54] Ibid., August 2, 1843, p. 2.

At the same time, the roots of a distinctly Canadian nationalism were growing as a result of the 1837 rebellions and the implementation of responsible government. The military historian, C. P. Stacey has maintained that Lord Durham certainly appreciated the fact that a display of disciplined troops made for respect for British authority in Canada among their neighbours to the south,[55] but one must question whether the result would be any less effective with reference to the Canadian colonists themselves. Whenever military sportsmen competed they waved the 'Jack' and preserved the imperialistic ties between Great Britain and British North America. It is quite conceivable that the troops intentionally promoted those things British within the colony as opposed to those things that may have detracted from the colonists' British heritage. Sporting examples appear to support this hypothesis.

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[55] Stacey, Canada and the British Army, p. 19.

Even into the 1860s British sport forms were heralded as a prominent feature of a British-oriented society. But by this time, the colonists were beginning to assume a personal identity too. While the colony was still young, the characteristics of the people could conveniently assume both identities, that of a British dependent and that of a new, and separate citizenship. Canadian society remained essentially British, yet more and more unique characteristics marked its existence. Sport was no exception. In the maritimes particularly, a distinction was drawn between the inhabitants there and those of their homeland. Significantly, the distinction was reinforced through sport.

If maritimers were predisposed to claim one athletic superiority during the nineteenth century it would have been in the area of aquatic sport. The natural hydrography of the region resulted in an economy that was based on the sea and this was transmitted into the maritime society at large. Sport reflected this social orientation and maritimers became proud oarsmen. For them, patriotism was often measured in one's ability to exist as one with the sea. The presence of the Imperial forces, particularly the Royal Navy, provided an able opponent against whom the local oarsmen could test their mettle. For maritime patriots, competitions against the Britishers provided a visible, nationalistic platform.

But despite their particular brand of nationalism, or "maritime-ism", they were still British subjects and gave every indication that they were proud of their British lineage. Regatta competitions which occurred at Halifax in the late 1820s underscored this dichotomous loyalty. At this juncture in the development of Haligonian aquatic sport, competition normally occurred between the town, the army garrison and the navy. In 1828, the military gentlemen and the naval officers had defeated the representatives of the town with the former eventually being the overall victor. The following year however, Nova Scotian pride was aroused when a Halifax boat defeated the garrison and a Dartmouth boat prevailed over a Royal Navy crew. The local newspaper editor was thrilled at the apparent upset as a Nova Scotian but insisted that: "In these cases the victory is all in the family."[56] Clearly, he was inferring that all of the competitors were British subjects. As an interesting afterthought however, he stipulated that despite their common heritage, Nova Scotians must never be beaten, even by Englishmen!

Canadian nationalism was emerging throughout the nineteenth century, and at times, sport was exalted as the medium through which Canadians could realize their distinct identity. As meeting places free of political or religious differences, sporting exchanges provided an opportunity for people to unite in a "common bond of brotherhood". A track and field competition at Kingston in 1844 provided just such a setting and a local editor made full political capital of the successful gathering when he stated:

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[56] Nova Scotian, July 29, 1829, p. 246.

> We believe that if gatherings of this kind for healthful but harmless amusement were more frequent in Canada, it would create a more manly and friendly feeling in the country.
>
> At these games men of all parties and creeds meet together on an equal footing and the good feeling excited in these amicable contests materially lessens any religious or political animosities which have previously existed - and has a tendency to unite the community by a common bond of brotherhood essentially necessary to its prosperity and happiness.[57]

While this example illustrates clearly the 'internal' nationalism that was slowly emerging within the colony, it does not appear to directly concern the Imperial regulars stationed in British North America. But it did! The Kingston athletic gathering and the resulting editor's remarks represented an overt attempt to promote 'Canadian' nationalism. As Lindsay aptly described it in his attempt to understand the "national game concept" that emerged in Canada in the late 1860s,[58] nationalism manifested itself in certain characteristic ways:

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[57] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, October 16, 1844, p. 2.

[58] Peter L. Lindsay, "George Beers and the National Game Concept: A Behavioural Approach," Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Windsor, Ontario, May, 1972, pp. 27-44.

> . . . all nationalists have in common the focussing of attention, drive, and positive emotion on the symbols of the nation. Features of nationalism are delusions of national virtue, national grandeur, and national persecution, while motivational energy is channeled in the direction of adopting such goals as advancing the power or prestige of a group.[59]

Beginnings such as this track and field spectacle did serve to focus attention on the symbol of the nation, or more precisely, nationhood. The editor's remarks were an attempt to channel motivational energy toward the idea of 'Canadianism'. Ultimately the British Crown became the peaceful antagonist and the Imperial forces, representative as they were of British Parliamentary authority, became recognized as the force representing the antithesis of nationhood.

In order to place the relationship between the Imperial forces, sport and nationhood in its accurate historical perspective, it is necessary to briefly examine the role played by George Beers in his attempt to establish lacrosse as the national game of Canada. Beers ardently supported lacrosse as the only suitable sporting activity to warrant the christening as Canada's national game. He was equally adamant in his opinion that cricket, probably the most widely played game in the country, was not suitable because of its upper class orientation. And it was a British game. It is noteworthy that Beers expressed significant anti-military feeling in his defence of lacrosse as Canada's national game too, perhaps because the soldiers had always been the propagators of cricket enthusiasm in the colony. This dislike of the military was illustrated in a letter written by Beers to the editor of the Montreal Gazette in response to an adversary's critique of lacrosse as the national game:

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[59] Ibid., p. 30.

> I think, en passant, he would find cricket flourish more among its admirers if the only ground we have in the city was not so monopolized and controlled by the military players.[60]

Whether this anti-military feeling was widespread or was simply a reflection of Beers' frustration regarding the acquisition of a playing field is difficult to ascertain. Regardless of the basis of the remarks, it is significant that Beers chose the Imperial forces as his antagonist in his attempt to breed nationalistic feelings among the people of Montreal, especially when one realizes that Beers was actually very loyal to the British Crown.

Furthermore, Lindsay identified two major forces that functioned coincidentally to result in the phenomenal growth of lacrosse in 1867 — emerging Canadian nationalism and the personality of George Beers. But the inclusion of the military as a representative of the British Crown adds a new dimension to this nationalistic theory, a dimension in which the military play a more dominant part.

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[60] Montreal Gazette, August 8, 1867, p. 2.

The sport of lacrosse found its origin primarily in Montreal and that city was the centre of subsequent lacrosse fervour. This may have been a result of the exertions of Beers but it may also have succeeded because the sport filled a vacuum that existed in Montreal's sporting society at the time. According to the number of published newspaper reports, sport was almost a dead letter in Montreal in the early years of the decade. It was not until the soldiers rejuvenated the game of cricket in 1865 that sport reached a level comparable to past years. After 1865 in fact, the military appeared to dominate many of the sport forms present in the city. With reference to this appraisal, it is important to consider Beers' anti-military statement cited above. Once again, it implies a distinct displeasure with military cricketers based on what Beers perceived to be their domineering sporting attitude. Since an intense rivalry developed during the subsequent summer months between Montreal cricketers and lacrosse enthusiasts, one might suggest that it was a result of the new sport's promotion as the antithesis of military cricket that it gained such extraordinary momentum. Cricket was promoted by the Imperial regulars who were the representatives of British imperialism and colonial subjugation. Lacrosse, on the other hand, was a Canadian's dream and lifeblood, an indigenous Canadian sport that represented nationhood and colonial independence. The troops were still "British."

Whether the troops were cognizant of the fact that they represented a "foreign" government and waved the Union Jack in the colony is difficult to determine. It is possible that their sporting preferences were guided by higher authorities so that they would promote British imperialism rather than colonial nationalism. Unfortunately, statements of official policy which would support or refute such a contention were not available, if in fact they were ever issued. But a passing glance at the type of sport indulged in by British officers and the rank and file stationed in the colony suggests that such a demarcation existed. It is not surprising that military personnel did not become actively engaged in organized, indigenous North American sports, especially those officers who appeared to take advantage of every other active sporting opportunity in the garrison town in which they found themselves. While the diaries of some officers expressed open displeasure at some Canadian sport forms, those commonly practised in the mother country, they even declined comment on the merits or shortcomings of organized, indigenous sports in the colony. Baseball and lacrosse are the most notable examples. In

1867, the Montreal Gazette even appealed to the military to join the civilians in their newest sport, lacrosse, but no murmur was heard from the ranks.[61] Considering that garrison officers had previously suggested exporting the sport, this avoidance and lack of military participation is intriguing.

The Political Interpretation: A Summary

Throughout the nineteenth century overt political problems and covert political propagandizing marked the stay of Imperial regulars in the North American colony. The colonial society was invested with a distinct military presence and civil-military relations frequently assumed a political profile. Even sport was invested with political character and while not always evident on the surface, it was readily present nevertheless.

Because the colonial situation was militarily unstable, Imperial regulars were constantly in garrison in North America. But open confrontations with the expectant enemy, the United States, were rare and thus garrison duty became somewhat relaxed. Consequently, the political climate was conducive to the soldiers' practice of sports and games.

The colonists realized this. They also realized that sport could be a visible platform on which to affirm their loyalty to the throne. Sport could be used to their advantage as well. Through sporting contacts they could show their respect for the British authorities, many of whom were the officers of the local garrisons. By patronizing these officers, especially the Governors-General, the colonists could not only show respect for the authorities, but they could obtain a degree of social respectability for their sporting clubs. Furthermore, they might make some practical gains, in the form of increased spectator turnout and resulting financial gains, or monies and trophies for which to compete. Good relations with the soldiers were in their best interests and they immediately realized that some political influence could be exerted through sport.

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[61] Ibid., July 25, 1867, p. 2.

From the military perspective, politicizing sport as propaganda had its attributes as well. Sport could be used as a liaison between themselves and the garrison community in which they were stationed. If sport succeeded as a realm in which cooperation prevailed, the task of policing the colony would be considerably eased. Good relations between the soldiers and the residents of Canadian communities would ensure that British sovereignty would be secure on the North American continent as long as the British Parliament wished the colonial tie to remain. The soldier-sportsmen were most certainly ceremonial figureheads, and this may have pleased many egotistical officers, but more importantly, it provided the military authorities with a splendid opportunity to keep a cautious discerning eye on the colony.

After 1840, the home government was not particularly worried over the possibility of armed rebellion within the colony but rather the lingering threat of hostilities with the United States. The British were more concerned than most Canadian officials who were content with allowing the political history of the colony to take its natural course. For the colonial society, British or American dominance seemed to be largely inconsequential. In fact, the emerging Canadian culture incorporated elements of both influences. Once again, sport became one of the most visible platforms on which the social debate unfolded. The British forces, it appeared, supported and attempted to foster traditional, British sports and ignored indigenous North American activities. This may have been an attempt to preserve the imperialistic ties with Great Britain. On the other hand, some Canadians, the most colourful and influential of whom was George Beers, discouraged the practice of British activities in their attempt to elevate lacrosse, for example, to national game status.

In order to accurately assess the contribution of the Imperial forces to the development of Canadian sport it is important to determine whether this military role sponsored or limited the emergence of sport in British North America. Attempts to politicize sport as propaganda by both soldiers and civilians surely increased sporting contacts between the two. Thus, the pattern of Canadian sport was probably more extensive than it would have been without the presence of the garrisons. If the British military authorities did consciously endeavour to protect British imperialistic ties with the colony through the promotion of those sport forms which found their origins in the British Isles, they may have inadvertently fueled Canadian nationalism by encouraging Canadians to be seduced by the nationalizing influence of indigenous sports. The phenomenal success of the virgin sport of lacrosse may be attributed to many factors, but the impact of such a rivalry is interesting.

The British military forces did assume a political role within the colonial society. Whether this policy infected sport, and the resulting impact that it may have had, is difficult to determine accurately. That the ramifications of political differences did characterize the pattern of sport in the colony is certain. But, whether the military attempted to give political character to sport remains largely a speculative judgement.

CHAPTER V

British Regulars and Sport in the Canadian Clime: A Geographical Interpretation

Introduction

Similar to the political interpretation, the geographical discussion incorporates two distinct themes. The first deals specifically with the physical geography of the British North American colonies. When the troops entered the colony they experienced a geographical setting that was unlike that which they had left behind, largely because of the prevalence of waterways surrounding the garrison communities and partly because of the severe colonial winters. Both proved to be major determinents with respect to the troops sporting experiences.

Owing to this geographical setting, sport reflected certain characteristics which the troops encountered when they entered the colonial milieu. Different areas of the colony, for example, preferred different sports. The soldiers, who practised pastimes that were promoted by the army institution, were unfamiliar with many of these. This largely affected their impact on the development of local sport, and more particularly, their contribution to the diffusion of sporting activities throughout the colonies.

Not only were the troops sporting experiences shaped by the physical geographical landscape that they encountered, but also by their own geographical heritage. Certain pastimes were prominent in various areas of the British Isles and soldiers and regiments thus exhibited unique sporting preferences when they entered the colonies. Thus, a geographical discussion is valuable.

Even after the American War of Independence, and the expulsion of Imperial authority from the territory which eventually became the United States, British North America comprised a vast region. Prior to the confederation of the North American provinces, and even after that political event, the colony was marked by distinct regional peculiarities. In fact, regional differences became the most visible obstacle to the political affiliation of the numerous provinces which comprised British North America. Ultimately, each region assumed a unique character, an identity which permeated all aspects of the local society, including sport. Into this diverse social-cultural geography came the Imperial regulars, a body of men who hailed from Great Britain, yet came from different parts of the British Isles.

Because of the impact of these regional differences, it is important to survey the emerging sport forms of the Canadian colony in a geographic perspective. Furthermore, the environmental setting would have conditioned the contribution of a particular garrison to the developing mosaic of its host community's sport. Rooney, in his discussion of "Sports from a Geographic Perspective," succinctly described the implications of a geographic analysis of sport:

> Since geography is concerned with the character of place, locational analysis and human behavior, sport represents rich grist for its bustling mill. Geographic analysis can help to create a better understanding of sport's significance to society and can aid in promoting an awareness of the changing role of sport over time; its origins, spread and modifications.[1]

These things are integral to understanding the role of the British troops in the development of Canadian sport.

The Canadian environment had much to do with the troops' involvement in colonial sport forms. British military personnel expressed both admiration and disdain with reference to the Canadian milieu. In each case, sport was often featured as a product of the particular regional setting. The colonial climate, particularly the long, intense winter, predisposed the soldiers to sports participation. The natural topography of certain regions predisposed the inhabitants and the soldiers to particular sport forms. Generally, the environment of the colony provided a favourable climate for sport, especially for the troops who were sent to garrison the colony.

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[1] John F. Rooney, Jr., "Sports from a Geographic Perspective," in Donald W. Ball, John W. Loy, Sport and Social Order, Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1975, p. 55.

Closely allied to the environmental background of the colonial setting is what Rooney has labelled as the spatial variation in games.[2] More specifically, this pertains to the "place-to-place variations in the games which people play and with which they identify." Certain sports could be expected to dominate different areas and perhaps the mechanics of particular sports might vary in different geographical regions. With reference to the involvement of the Imperial forces in the development of Canadian sport, an observation of the spatial variation in games may prove enlightening. For example, did military sport, considering the similarities that resulted from the institutionalized nature of the Imperial forces, counter the spatial variations of colonial pastimes? Did the soldiers' sporting preferences moderate the impact of regional variations, or did their sporting pastimes reflect the "place-to-place variations" evident in the games which the colonists played? Consequently, where was the greater contribution made by the garrison, if one was in fact made?

Another geographical determinant identified by Rooney concerns the origin and diffusion of games.[3] This closely parallels the political discussion illustrated earlier insofar as sport has been considered as a British export during the nineteenth century. In this view, sport is seen to be employed as a socio-political expedient which assumed geographical proportions. Did the military function as the agents of diffusion and the propagators of sport in the colony? Is the debt for the development of Canadian sport owed primarily to the sportsmen who wore the Queen's uniforms in the colony, or to the immigrants who settled the new land? Moreover, who were the primary agents of the diffusion of sport in the colony?

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[2] John F. Rooney, Jr., A Geography of American Sport, Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1974, pp. 4-5.

[3] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

An examination of urbanization and sport in the colony further underscores the precise impact of the military on the development of Canadian sport. Nineteenth century Canadian sport was largely an urban phenomenon. The British garrisons were largely urban based. Thus, in order to determine the role played by the soldiers, it is necessary to examine the correlation between the two, sport and the garrisons, since both were urban based. Did the military influence the development of sport in the community or did the community sportsmen influence the sporting activities of the resident garrison? It would seem logical that the pattern of life in a smaller community would be more profoundly affected by a permanent garrison than that of a larger community. If sport is considered as a mirror of society, then the sporting fraternity should be affected accordingly. Thus, one would expect the Kingston garrison to have a greater impact on the sporting lives of Kingstonians than the Halifax garrison would have on the citizens of that town. In turn, the influence of the Montreal garrison, substantial as it was, may have been less important in the sporting annals of Canada's principal hotbed of nineteenth century sport.

Owing to the need for sports facilities, sport has historically had a considerable effect on the visible cultural landscape.[4] With the prominence of military reserves in the early years of the colony, and the valuable, centrally-located nature of the lands themselves, Imperial properties were often utilized for sport. Once the threat of hostilities declined in the later years of the nineteenth century, many of these properties were deeded to the communities in which the garrisons were based. Thus, the effect of sport on the landscape of early Canadian communities was largely a result of the influence exerted by the military authorities.

According to Rooney: "Every country, or for that matter, every area has a sports geography which is representative of a segment of its overall socio-cultural geography."[5] Sport assumes a national character and reflects a regional affiliation through certain games. Consequently, different regions have different games for which they are noted. The people of these regions reflect these national characteristics through their sporting preferences. British regiments, coming as they did from certain areas of the British Isles, exemplified the sporting activities that were popular in their homeland. When these units were posted on foreign service, they took their sporting preferences with them. As a result, the flavour of sport in the communities in which they were in garrison was frequently altered by the military sportsmen.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 8-12.

Geographically, British North America was unique. Colonial society and colonial sport was, however, a product of British immigrants. The Imperial regulars were simply recent immigrants and nurtured those sporting activities that were familiar aspects of their homeland. Once they entered into their garrison duties within the colony, they encountered a particular setting of Canadian sport. Politically, they were the representatives of the Crown. Geographically, they were displaced persons, individuals who found themselves in a foreign land, but fully imbued with their British cultural heritage and way of life.

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[5] Ibid., p. 12.

Sport and the Canadian Environment from the Military Perspective

When his unit was posted to British North America in the 1860s, Sir Desmond O'Callaghan had a definite perception of the upper province to which he had been ordered:

> Canada in the sixties was a name for the subalterns to conjure with! Canada, the land of snow, ice, shooting, fishing, skating and unbounded hospitality.[6]

Socially, the colony held many attractions for the new military arrivals. Even the official military authorities praised the North American colonies as places where troops could be kept inexpensively and in robust condition. No other colonial posting could match it.[7] The climate, despite the length of the harsh winter, was inherently healthy. Because of the harshness of the winter, duties were seasonally restricted but there was no limit to the winter sporting activities available to the troops.

Much of the merit accorded the Canadian colony was directed to the favourable environment in which the troops functioned. But then, they had little experience of a favourable nature with which to compare. Captain James Ballingall's experience in the western hemisphere while on foreign service was typical of most. After a stint of service in the West Indies, he was posted to Kingston where he immediately enjoyed Canadian picnic parties and excursions into the country. He emphasized in his diary that those officers who had recently arrived from the southern possessions would often organize such activities. Whereas the West Indies were a "pestilential prison" of "fever" and "solitude", Canada offered considerable respite.[8] This colony was held in high esteem by the Army Medical Department throughout the nineteenth century as the most healthy station in which Imperial regulars served.[9]

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[6] O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, p. 21.

[7] Daily News, Kingston, March 8, 1856, p. 2.

With rare exceptions, almost every garrison in Canada received praise from the British troops. O'Callaghan offered a most encompassing compliment when he was ordered to Bermuda in 1870 as a result of the general withdrawal of the troops from the colony. In the Captain's opinion, the withdrawal represented ". . . a knock on the head to the best quarter that ever fell to the lot of a soldier."[10] In fact, O'Callaghan hoped that he would somehow manage to remain in the colony for another season of winter amusement:

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[8] Ballingall, "Diary," pp. 229-31.

[9] Army Medical Department, Statistical, Sanitary and Medical Reports, 1859-1871.

[10] O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, p. 42.

> We came back to Quebec in the middle of October and sailed from there for Bermuda in the Tamar in November, 1870. We had a stormy voyage and the St. Lawrence was so full of ice that we were hoping to get "nipped" in it and to spend another winter in Canada. But it was not to be, and after a stay of ten days in Halifax, the most hospitable place I ever remember to have been in, we reached Bermuda early in December.[11]

O'Callaghan enjoyed his Halifax sojourn even though he disliked the frequent periods of slushy thaw which characterized the maritime winter. But even this mild criticism of the Haligonian climate was a rarity. When Mackinnon examined the lifestyle of garrison personnel in the latter years of the nineteenth century, he found that soldiers described Halifax as ". . . the only decent station on the colonial tour."[12] It was a most popular station particularly because of the moderate, disease-free climate. But it was attractive for other reasons as well. The troops looked forward to a sojourn in the Halifax garrison and statements of the men supported this notion. When the 62nd and 63rd regiments returned from the Crimea to garrison Halifax in 1856, the Colonel of the 62nd related the troops' general opinion of their fortune:

> It was no slight pleasure for us to know that, on leaving the Crimea, Halifax was to be

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[11] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[12] Mackinnon, "The Imperial Fortresses in Canada," p. 12.

> our future destination, a place endeared to all soldiers who have had the good fortune to be quartered there, by the universal kindness they have met with from its inhabitants; it is one of the few quarters to which all Soldiers wish to go, and which all regret having to leave.[13]

The reputation that Halifax had earned among the Imperial forces was adequately supported throughout the years that the troops were in garrison there. Even the uninformed soldier appeared to be impressed upon first encountering the region. When an officer arrived at Halifax in the early 1840s after a lengthy, five week passage across the Atlantic, he remarked that the country around the town was a veritable paradise, abounding in mirth, fish and game.[14] Regardless of the duties that they were required to perform, British troops could be certain that their stay in Halifax would be rewarding from a sporting perspective.

Similar merit was ascribed to Kingston and Montreal. Captain O'Callaghan particularly was pleased that he had had an opportunity to serve in the Canadas. In summarizing his colonial service, he concluded: "Looking back now, I think how lucky I was to be quartered in the real Canada, Kingston and Quebec, these including more than a passing acquaintance with Montreal."[15] Most of his time was spent at Kingston and his subsequent affinity for that locality was aptly demonstrated:

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[13] Nova Scotian, June 16, 1856, p. 1.

[14] An Officer, "Some Passages from my Diary in America," p. 584.

> No one could help being happy at Kingston. In the summer there was excellent fishing on Lake Ontario for black bass, pickerel and pike, with garden and boating parties, and in the winter the best skating in all Canada, because before the rink opened at Christmas we had first the inner harbour, then the outer, and finally the lake itself stretching away to "Nine Mile Point," after which there was open water. Hospitality was unbounded. But this was common to all Canada, and we soldiers were always hard pressed to return a fraction of the kindnesses that we received.[16]

Montreal, as the social centre of the North American colony, received similar accolades. Wolseley's description of the city's "blissful" qualities was a fair indication of the redcoats' affinity for the community.[17]

For the most part, the Imperial regulars were satisfied with their North American postings. But there were examples of disdain expressed by the soldiers of the Crown. The diaries of several military personnel stationed in the colony occasionally related displeasure over the weather, the colonial lifestyle or the colonists themselves. Not all soldiers agreed that the North American colony represented a geographical paradise to which they were pleased to be assigned. While Lt. Arthur Freeling found the approach to the city of Quebec "beautiful in the extreme," he was disappointed with the "ugly" appearance of the banks of the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and Montreal.[18] He was subsequently disillusioned with his colonial tenure, partially because of his misgivings with respect to the geography of the area. Others were more explicit in voicing their discontent. Sir Charles Chichester had commanded a battalion in North America in the early 1820s and had decided that the posting was disagreeable. Nevertheless, he returned in 1838 and upon arriving in Montreal he confessed in his diary that ". . . [he had] sworn 1000 times that nothing should ever bring [him] to it again."[19] In Chichester's opinion, the primitive nature of the colonial society, including sport, was appalling.

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[15] O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, p. 22.

[16] Ibid., p. 23.

[17] Wolseley, Story of a Soldier's Life, Vol. II, pp. 115-16.

However, despite the recording of some grievances about the North American colonies, most garrison personnel appeared to enjoy their new surroundings. Owing to the prevailing climate, duties were often relaxed and the soldiers of the Crown were allowed to participate in colonial sporting activities. Whereas the social environment may have been the most important local aspect of the garrison soldiers' sporting experiences, the physical environment was also important. Perhaps the greatest forces were the intense winter climate, mentioned above, and the regional topography which characterized the various regional garrison localities.

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[18] Freeling, "Diary," July 12-13, 1839.

[19] Chichester, "Diary," April 27, 1839.

The Canadian winter was drastically long and severe when compared to that with which the Imperial regulars were accustomed. Several military authors commented on the long winter months and provided extremely detailed accounts of the efforts undertaken by them and their colleagues to relieve the tedium of a stagnating garrison lifestyle. To Lt. Col. Sir James E. Alexander and his officers, a sleighing excursion was often the respite required to alleviate the boredom of the season. In an article describing the sport, Alexander emphasized the impact of the climate:

> To make a break in a long Canadian winter, a small party was formed in the garrison of London, Canada West, in the beginning of 1843, to visit the falls of Niagara when encircled in a snowy mantle.[20]

When Alexander and his regiment was transferred to Kingston several years later, hunting "scrapes" superseded sleighing as the sporting activity most commonly engaged to ease the tedium of the winter. The hunters proceeded out in search of their quarry well wrapped in buffalo robes but the intense cold necessitated further actions to combat the ill effects of the temperature:

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[20] Alexander, "A Sleigh Drive in Canada West," p. 340.

> To assist the warmth of the fur robes about our lower man, and vary our journey, a vigorous snow-ball fight was maintained between the sleighs, but which the horses did not seem either to understand or to relish. . . .[21]

This comical incident illustrates the perceptions of the Canadian clime and exemplifies the ends to which the troops would go to satisfy their sporting passions. But the snowball incident itself is not integral to the examination of the role of the British troops in the development of Canadian sport. Rather, it provides an illustration that underscores the impact of the Canadian climate on the sporting aspirations of the soldiers, and, the degree to which the local environment conditioned the soldiers' sporting experiences. The Imperial regulars participated in sport the year round, but during the winter months, when duty was relaxed owing to the severity of the weather, the soldiers would be more likely to have increased amounts of leisure time to devote to the organization of sports events. If the military intentionally attempted to contribute to the development of Canadian sport, one might suspect that they would show a marked increase in the level of involvement in the organization of winter activities.

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[21] Alexander, "Summer and Winter Deer Shooting in Canada West," p. 509.

But such was not the case. With the exception of sleighing, in which military tandem clubs were often the premier sports groups of the kind within the community, and in which the senior garrison personnel commonly took the lead, garrison organizers played a minor role in winter time community sport. In snow shoeing, it has been noted that the local community clubs sponsored events for military personnel at civilian urging to augment the troops' winter training.[22] In curling, military personages of prominence were few. Following the fiftieth anniversary bonspiel of the Montreal Curling Club in 1857, a complete list of those soldiers who had taken membership in the club since its inception was published in the Gazette. In fifty years, despite the presence of a substantial garrison, only thirty-eight of a reported one hundred and eighty-six members were military personnel.[23] While this number appears quite significant, few were actually active players. Most were merely honourary members. In later years, the military contribution to the club was equally inconspicuous.

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[22] For a discussion of military snowshoe races, their origin and results, see Chapter III, "Community Interchange Through Sport," p. 188.

[23] Montreal Gazette, January 24, 1857, p. 2.

Soldiers were rarely seen vying for the 'beef and greens'.[24] Similar membership representations were evident in the other Montreal clubs and those in Halifax and Kingston. The explanation is simple. Although curling predominated in the Scottish lowlands, only those units of the highlands had a few soldiers in the ranks who practised the sport. Normally, highland regiments formed their own unit clubs. Thus, few Imperial regulars entered the ranks of the local clubs, and therefore, any examples of military contribution, other than mere official patronage, were rare.

Conversely, in those winter activities in which individuals could pursue their own sporting preferences, either of a traditional or indigenous nature, participation was common. For example, sleighing, in which each officer provided for his own equipment, and hunting, in which individual initiative was paramount, were activities where detailed organization and cooperation were not necessary ingredients to a successful outing. Therefore, informal sleighing excursions and spontaneous hunting trips were undertaken almost daily by regimental officers whose duty had been minimized owing to the relaxation of regular duties. But individual leisure of this kind did little to stimulate the development of Canadian sport. The diaries of officers stationed in the colony during the winter months show that their lives during this period were constantly filled with excess leisure time. According to numerous diaries, an average winter day would consist of a late rising, an afternoon skate, an evening sleigh ride and a lengthy night filled with whist. It was not uncommon for an officer to return to his quarters after two o'clock in the morning. But then, each officer was required for duty only one day of every week on average because of the relaxed nature of the garrison setting during the winter months. Thus, military sport during these months was common, but surprisingly, it did little to stimulate the development of the colonists' sporting experiences.

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[24] See R. Wayne Simpson, "The Influence of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980.

Perhaps the second most important geographical feature which determined the soldiers' sporting perspective in the colony was the physical structure of the garrison region itself. More particularly, the natural hydrography of a region often determined the character of the garrison, and this, in turn, conditioned the type of sporting activities which took place in the community. The garrison of Halifax provides the best example of this relationship. Because of the natural harbour provided by the local topography, Lord Cornwallis chose the present site of the town for his settlement in 1749. The community subsequently became the bastion of British power in the region adjacent to the French North American possessions and as such, required a substantial military force to protect the Crown's interests in the area. Since the harbour was excellent from both a navigational and defensive viewpoint, the Admiralty decided to locate a major naval station there. Following the American Revolutionary War, Halifax became the summer headquarters of the Atlantic Squadron and thus, a large naval contingent garrisoned the community. At the same time, the Nova Scotian economy reflected the maritime location as well. The dependence of the inhabitants on fishing for much of their livelihood ensured that they would have a major interest in the efficiency of boats and boat building. Because of this innate interest, and the presence of the naval contingent at Halifax, aquatic sports evolved as the major sport form of the maritime region. When the first regatta was held at Halifax in 1826 as a result of the exertions of the resident admiral, the Nova Scotian reported that it was intended as an entertainment for His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie and his Countess who were expected to visit the town.[25] The "social pleasures" of such an event were also emphasized. However, the following year, more practical results were attributed to aquatic sports. Aside from providing "carefree happiness," an affinity for the country, and promotion of the arts, the competition was expected to increase the standard of boat building in the province.[26] In later years, this qualification was frequently voiced. In fact, the success of Haligonian boats was perceived as a direct indication of the status of Nova Scotian boat building and manhood with reference to the province's geographical neighbours.

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[25] Nova Scotian, July 6, 1826, p. 251.

At Kingston, a similar situation prevailed. Because the town was located at the crucial point of transhipment on the Great Lakes and was a natural defensive point, the Royal Navy garrisoned the community in force until the mid-fifties.[27] Not surprisingly, the first recorded example of aquatic sport in that community was a match between a lieutenant of the Royal Navy and a lieutenant of the Royal Artillery battery then in garrison.[28] What came of this match was not only a respite from the rigors of a work-oriented lifestyle, but also what may have been the first sailing club in British North America.[29] But the effect of the premier sporting competition did not last and by 1833 a local editor was challenging his readers to reinstate aquatic activities. In recommending a letter published in the Kingston Herald to the gentlemen of the public departments, the editor emphasized the relationship between the hydrography of Kingston and sport:

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[26] Ibid., August 2, 1827, p. 259.

[27] For a detailed account of the Royal Navy contingent in Kingston, see John Spurr, "The Royal Navy's Presence in Kingston," Historic Kingston, Vol. XXVI (1978):81-94.

[28] Kingston Chronicle, July 14, 1826, p. 2.

[29] This is the conclusion arrived at by Lindsay after compiling a record of the aquatic clubs formed in the

> It has often been a matter of surprise to me, that the gentry of Kingston among their other amusements, have not turned their mind to the getting up of a Regatta, a recreation combining health and entertainment in their highest degree, and one which is adopted in every part of the United Kingdom. There is perhaps no place in the world better adapted for this species of manly exercise than the harbour of Kingston, whether for sailing or rowing matches, and I am sure there is no lack of craft to give effect to a grand aquatic display of the kind suggested.[30]

It was the editor's opinion that there was no place in the world so well adapted to the exhibition of a regatta as Kingston. The calm harbour offered a protected course and Kingston Bay was thought to be the best spectator venue in Canada for aquatic amusements.[31] But the success and even the origin of aquatic sports in the town was partially the result of the presence of naval personnel. Had it not been

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colony prior to Confederation. See Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," p. 170.

[30] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, August 17, 1833, p. 2.

[31] British Whig, Kingston, September 13, 1848, p. 2.

for the natural hydrography of the region, and the resultant presence of the Royal Navy, the water sports may not have been a feature of Kingstonian life.

At Montreal, where no permanent naval contingent was stationed, the military showed a lower level of involvement in aquatic sports. Because the St. Lawrence River in the vicinity of the city was too rough for rowing, the sport was moved to the nearby community of Lachine. Garrison personnel were present at all aquatic competitions held there, but as spectators rather than as competitors. Their reluctance to compete can be explained. In regions in which the navy and army forces served in the same garrison, a fierce rivalry normally developed. This was often manifest in sporting contacts between the two. Since the sailors were only present in garrisons in which the hydrography necessitated naval defence, and since they were seamen, it was only natural that aquatic contests would become a salient mode of competition between the two groups. Thus, soldiers were forced to become involved in activities that were foreign to them. Their pride ensured that they excelled in the new events. But at Montreal, where no naval force was present, the soldiers were not required to oppose their military rivals. There were no army versus navy races included on the program of events at the annual regattas and in rowing events particularly, the soldiers were absent. The rare appearance of a regimental entry was probably due to the fact that the unit had previously been quartered at Kingston or Halifax where army aquatics were common.

Most North American garrisons were located in communities that bordered major waterways. If the strategic importance of the site necessitated the presence of a Royal Navy force, it followed that aquatic sport would become a major feature of the colonial society. However, at stations such as Montreal, where a naval contingent was not present, rowing and sailing normally developed nevertheless. Only the abundance of military competitors was absent. This would suggest that although military personnel did become deeply involved in the organization of these events, their assistance was not crucial to the development of the sporting activity. The Lachine Regatta became the most prestigious event of its kind held in Canada, and the military played a very minor role there throughout the nineteenth century.

In summary, the colonial environment was conducive to the practice of sports and pastimes and the British military personnel who garrisoned the colony took every advantage which it offered. Generally, the troops expressed pleasure at being posted to the North American colony. Only a few voiced any degree of displeasure. The long, harsh winter resulted in the cancellation of many of the regular garrison duties and provided the soldiers with plentiful leisure time in which to pursue any of the varied winter sport forms that were common to the colony. The physical geography of the territory conditioned the type of their sport, too. Frequently, the soldiers' pastimes were products of the geographical locale in which they found themselves. For the most part, the development of Canadian sport was conditioned more by the geographical elements that marked the colony than by the social-cultural idiosyncrasies that marked the lifestyle of the Imperial regulars, or, for that matter, the colonists themselves. If Canada had not been subject to a severe winter climate, all the attempts of Scottish immigrants and highland regiments could not have succeeded in introducing the "roarin' game" to the colony prior to the advent of refrigeration technology. The environment was conducive to the development of sport, however, and the Imperial regulars who garrisoned Canadian towns took full advantage of it.

The Military and the Regional Peculiarities in Sport

Although most sports were common to all areas of the North American colony, a definite regional variation could be seen throughout much of the nineteenth century. Some sporting activities dominated in certain regions of the colony at certain times, others were almost totally restricted to a particular locale. Why did this occur and what impact, if any, did the Imperial forces have on this "spatial variation in games?"

As a homogeneous institution, the Imperial forces usually demonstrated an interest in certain sporting activities despite the particular sporting preferences of the community in which they were stationed. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, when the military authorities recognized the need for physical exercise among the men, certain activities, particularly gymnastics and track and field athletics, were sanctioned as modes of training. Station commanders throughout the empire were encouraged to sponsor competitions which employed these mediums of training in an enjoyable fashion. Sporting activities that bred a sense of camaraderie and teamwork, such as cricket, were also promoted. These, plus the individual sporting pursuits of garrison officers became the standard garrison sports.

What happened when the military representatives entered a community in which these activities were not the major sports practised by the inhabitants? Did they continue to engage in 'military-type' activities and encourage their Canadian neighbours to join them? Thus, could the Imperial regulars have had a moderating effect on the character of community sport in the colony? If so, they might have suppressed the local spatial variation in games and sports practised by the inhabitants while at the same time implanting the seeds of nationally representative sports. Conversely, did the military yield when they realized that a particular sport predominated in a specific garrison community to support that activity to the exclusion of others?

In order to arrive at an accurate conclusion regarding the interaction between the garrison and the community sport forms which evolved in the colony, it is essential to identify any regional sporting variations and to explain the reasons for these differences. Once this is accomplished, it will be easier to ascertain the role played by the British military in the emergence of these regional differences, and ultimately, determine whether or not the role played by the Imperial forces enhanced or restricted the development of Canadian sport.

Halifax sportsmen enjoyed most of the activities that were common to British North America prior to the departure of the Imperial regulars from the colony. In the summer months cricket, horseracing and boating were common. During the winter, sleighing, skating and hunting were frequently enjoyed. Halifax sportsmen did not enjoy any activity to the exclusion of the rest of the country but a significant spatial variation existed nonetheless. One activity aroused the deepest passions of Haligonians whenever a competition was arranged, and that activity was the one chosen as the 'national' sport of the maritimes, namely, aquatic sports. Aquatics received greater emphasis amongst the inhabitants of Halifax than any other sporting activity. Newspaper editors likened success in the sculls to political, economical and cultural affirmation of the maritime way of life. Regatta heroes were the region's noblest personages. When a Haligonian fared well, such as George Brown,[32] the people became ecstatic. When a regional representative did well in competition, such as the Paris Crew of Saint John, there was still reason to exalt the triumph.

Into this sports setting came the Imperial regulars. As noted previously, the considerable naval contingent that was in garrison at Halifax became readily involved in the local aquatic sport. In fact, much of the Haligonians' aquatic heritage was the result of the initial organizational impetus provided by the resident admiral and his officers. Throughout the years preceding the eventual withdrawal of the troops in 1906, British sailors represented a substantial number of both the organizers and competitors of these events. But what of the army personnel? Aquatic events were not their normal sporting activities. This created a problem especially since one of their favourite leisure time pursuits, horseracing, was banned in Halifax for much of the nineteenth century. Cricket was still available but it would have been diplomatically improper to decline involvement in what was the town's premier sport form. Consequently, the soldiers were obligated to test their "water wings" and participate in the local aquatic competitions. Thus, in Halifax, the Imperial forces supported the sporting preferences of the inhabitants. In this way, the military made a contribution to the sporting experiences of Haligonians. The troops did not attempt to modify the local sporting preference, but rather, attempted to assimilate, or at least accommodate the colonial example themselves.

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[32] George Brown was not actually a Haligonian. He came from nearby Herring Cove but accomplished his major successes in Halifax during the annual competitions for the Cogswell Belt. Although he never competed internationally, Brown was acclaimed the World Champion Single Sculler and received the unbounded support of Haligonians whenever he competed. For a capsule account of his career, see S. F. Wise, Douglas Fisher, Canada's Sporting Heroes, Don Mills, Ontario: General Publishing Company Ltd., pp. 97-8.

In Montreal, snow shoeing was an activity that was largely restricted to the immediate region. As outlined previously, the Imperial forces were not accustomed to this indigenous mode of personal transportation but were required to become adept at the winter skill because of the possibility of winter defensive responsibilities. In this case, the Queen's representatives modified their own sporting preferences in order to accommodate this necessary local pastime, often at the urging of the civilian, community clubs. Thus, while the soldier may not have been condescending in his mobilization into the sport of snow shoeing, he most certainly recognized the geographical determinant which made his involvement imperative. For tactical reasons, if for no other, the Imperial troops were forced to practise this regional amusement.

With respect to lacrosse, another sport which assumed regional prominence, the military appeared disinterested. Contrary to the snow shoeing experience, the Imperial forces declined participation in what was fast becoming reputed as Canada's truly national sport, despite its apparent, and advertised benefits as a medium of training. Whether or not the military avoided the sport for political reasons, their impact on the development of the activity in the colony was essentially inconsequential. Had the soldiers actively engaged in the activity they might have further accelerated the spread of lacrosse throughout the North American provinces. But they declined participation and neither hindered nor promoted the sport. Nor did the soldiers stationed in Montreal participate in the sport and thereby reflect the regional variation of this aspiring national pastime.

Kingstonians' enthusiasm for aquatic sports never eclipsed that of Haligonians yet aquatics must be considered as the single sporting activity which aroused the most regional pride among the people of the area. The Royal Navy supported their Canadian neighbours' aquatic passion and eventually, army units stationed in the town entered into competitions as well. When the naval forces were permanently withdrawn in 1852, the British Army continued to foster the aquatic sports that had characterized the years of sporting interchange prior to the navy departure. Water sports were certainly unusual for land based forces, especially the more 'technical' rowing. But this represents an excellent example of military accommodation of an activity that was common to a region in which the troops were garrisoned. In this case, the soldiers clearly modified their own leisure in order to 'fit into' the local community.

The spatial variation in games may also be illustrated by the geographical variations in the style of play which characterized some Canadian pastimes. Perhaps the most publicized nineteenth century example of this was manifest in the sport of curling, and the military were central characters. As the sport was developing in early Canada, problems concerning the variety of equipment in use throughout the colony hindered the development of play. Inter-community matches particularly were often frustrating since the competing parties would find that they were using different stones. In the early years of the century, both wooden and iron stones were in use. This created obvious problems. However, even as late as 1850 a match between the Montreal Curling Club and the 71st Regiment was disputed because the military curlers' stones were ten pounds lighter than those of their civilian counterparts.[33] Although it is not a certainty, it appears that the military sportsmen adopted the colonists' stones since, despite numerous competitions between that unit and the colonial clubs, the equipment problem was not raised in subsequent years.

Apart from the lacrosse example, it becomes readily apparent that the Imperial forces stationed in the North American colony acquiesced and adopted the regional variations of sport which they encountered. While this most certainly resulted from the soldiers' desire to participate in sport whenever possible, it ultimately resulted in a strengthening of the local sporting community. The soldiers rarely opposed the sporting pursuits practised by the colonists and therefore, contributed to the development of Canadian sport, at least in a passive sense.

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[33] Montreal Gazette, February 11, 1850, p. 2.

The Origin and the Diffusion of Sport in the Colony

Nineteenth century Canadian sport was a product of three main influences: British, American and native or indigenous. American sports were a relatively late arrival on the local sports scene. Baseball, the most notable southern import, was first played in an organized form in 1859 and did not capture Canadian interest until the 1870s. Indigenous sports were common throughout the century but often remained in a semi-dormant state with the exception of regional preferences, such as Montreal snow shoeing. Since the majority of immigrants who came to the North American colony were of British extraction, it was only natural that they would introduce the pastimes that were common to their homeland. It has often been said that sport was a major British export during the nineteenth century. But what role did the Imperial forces play in the introduction and diffusion of these British sports throughout the colony? Most sport forms were diffused throughout the colony, accompanying the settlers as new areas were opened. What role did the British forces play as the agents of this diffusion?

If military garrisons had provided the initial points of settlement as the colony expanded, around which the settlers erected their cabins, they probably would have introduced most of the sport forms which became common in the growing community. At Kingston, and to a certain extent at Halifax, this was the case. Even at Montreal, where the sporting community has been characterized as a British oriented group , the troops arrived and established British institutions before the bulk of the settlers (British) arrived. But records from these military outposts are scarce, and it is difficult to determine the extent to which the soldiers disported themselves in these primitive urban areas. Did the soldiers originate colonial sport, since they enjoyed leisure time which the first immigrants could not hope to match because of the constant requirements of settling a hostile territory, or do Canadians owe their sporting heritage primarily to the immigrants who populated the embryo towns of British North America, or to both?

The first report of cricket in British North America resulted from a challenge by the Dock Yard and Town to the Army and Navy in garrison at Halifax in 1786.[34] It is significant that it was a civilian challenge. Whether the civilians had observed the military playing the game and had therefore decided to play them is uncertain. On February 28, 1805, a match was reported to have been played on the ice at the head of the North West Arm between the Artillery Company and the Light Infantry. But these were not Imperial regulars but rather local militia units. They may have been under the command of regular officers but this is not certain. Consequently, the impact of British troops on the introduction of cricket in the maritimes must be questioned since the earliest evidence that survives suggests a civilian origin. The sport first appeared in Kingston much later. There, the first recorded match resulted from a military challenge and the local club was formed in response to the military overture.[35] At Montreal, the first publicized match was held in 1826 between the citizens and the soldiers of the garrison.[36] However, no report of the match survives and the origin of the challenge remains uncertain. On the other hand, the civilian club appeared two years later apparently as a result of a challenge from the highly touted 68th Regiment.[37] From this beginning, the sport flourished.

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[34] Nova Scotia Gazette, October 17, 1786.

Although the debt owed to the Imperial regulars for introducing cricket to Canada is unclear, their impact on the successful promulgation of the sport is well documented. Imperial units frequently stimulated local cricket by issuing challenges and were often the catalysts which caused a renewed interest in cricket in areas in which the sport had waned. In 1865, cricket popularity reached an all time high in the city of Montreal. More matches were being played than ever before and significantly, military challenges and matches predominated. Lindsay accurately assessed the role played by the Imperial regulars in the development of Canadian cricket when he stated:

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[35] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, July 1, 11, 15, August 1, 1835, p. 3.

[36] Montreal Gazette, August 31, September 11, 1826, p. 2.

[37] Ibid., July 6, 1829, p. 2.

> The impetus given by the military regiments to the game of cricket cannot be too strongly emphasized. Wherever they were stationed their example was followed by British gentlemen eager to form teams and enter into competition against them.[38]

Cricket would have become a major sport form in the colony despite the immense amount of military patronage which it received. Nevertheless, the soldiers were agents of diffusion for the sport of cricket in the colony.

Another major colonial sport, curling, appears to owe its heritage to the Imperial regulars stationed in British North America although few regiments showed any formal interest in the activity. Redmond has shown that Scottish regiments disbanded in the colony and were probably the originators of the sport in Canada.[39] It has been suggested that curling began in the colony in 1760 when convalescing soldiers of the 78th Highlanders curled on the frozen St. Charles River, although evidence to this effect is lacking according to recent researchers.[40] More substantial is the history of curling in Nova Scotia. The sport was introduced to Halifax in 1825 by Captain Stewart, R.N., afterwards Admiral Sir Houston Stewart, who wintered there in the Menai frigate and introduced the game which was played on a local pond.[41] At Montreal, where the local club represented the first formation of its kind in North America, no military influence was evident. The club was a Scottish venture and at that time, no highland or lowland units were in garrison there. Although Redmond suggests that the curling club which was formed at Kingston was probably organized by Scots regiments stationed there, no evidence is introduced to support this. In fact, during that year, no Scottish units were in garrison there. Aside from small contingents of Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and the Royal Navy, only the 70th (East Surrey) Regiment was in garrison. Since Scots would have introduced the sport, it is unlikely that the British regulars played a prominent part in the introduction of curling to the region.

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[38] Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," p. 90.

[39] Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada," pp. 77-82.

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[40] Ibid., p. 174.

[41] Nova Scotian, December 7, 1857, p. 3.

The soldiers' contribution may have been more substantial once they were settled in the colony as discharged pensioners although this relationship is difficult to trace.

Scottish regiments may have added a fascinating competitive dimension to colonial curling but their impact as agents of diffusion was surely minimal. The Scots were dedicated sportsmen and were quick to establish their native activities wherever they settled. Thus, Canadians owe their curling heritage to those who emigrated from Scotland, more than to the soldiers of the Crown.

In some sports, garrison personnel were primarily responsible for both the original introduction of a sport into the colony and the eventual diffusion of the activity throughout the new country. In many cases though, the civilian population soon took over this leadership role. Horseracing provides a representative example. In Halifax and Kingston, the 'sport of kings' originated with the garrisons. Subsequent competition was often a result of military efforts. But a distinction must be made here. The military did play a major role in the organization of equestrian meetings, but basic horseracing, one against one, had occurred much before the inauguration of organized races. For this the Imperial regulars cannot claim any credit. Horseracing was a feature of Canadian life before the redcoats even set foot on Canadian territory. That garrison officers contributed to the organization of Canadian horseracing is certain, but that the origin and diffusion of the activity throughout the colony was the result of their presence may be doubted.

The same conclusion may be reached with reference to the military's influence in the introduction and diffusion of most sporting activities. The soldiers may have taken the lead in some circumstances, but the bulk of the evidence suggests that they simply refined activities that were already practised in a more primitive form by the early colonists. Therefore, while early Montrealers might have participated in an informal brand of cricket, the challenges issued by the garrison made it advisable to form a club to meet the challenges more officially and efficiently. In this sense, the impact of the British troops on the development of sport in British North America has been accurately estimated by Canadian sport historians.

Colonial Urbanization, Sport and the Military

It is not surprising that both the garrisons and sport were located in the urban settlements throughout the nineteenth century. British military policy regulated that the cantonment, or permanent military station, be located in or near local population centres for strategic reasons. Furthermore, since most nineteenth century Canadian settlements were located along bodies of water, the major transportation routes, and since these were the key to the defence of the colony, it was only natural that the colonial garrisons share the same location. Sport too was urban-based for the most part. This was because the density of the population and the presence of a leisure-conscious upper class made sporting competition both readily available and attractive. But what was the relationship between the two, if one in fact existed?

Perhaps this relationship was determined by the stage of development reached by the community in relation to the size of the resident garrison. Commenting on the economic boon which the garrisons represented to the towns of western Upper Canada, Philp suggested an inverse relationship that may be applicable to sport:

> Further, one should note that the garrison was never as important an economic [sporting] stimulus to such a town as London as it was to Niagara or Amherstburg. London in 1840 was already a centre with an assured [sporting] future. The military purchases [sporting contributions] constituted a welcome addition to the commerce [amusement] of the little market village, but they never became the be-all and end-all of local trade [sport].[42]

Were the soldiers more important to the development of sport in Kingston than they were in Montreal? Was the impact of their presence declining as the population of the garrison communities rose? Perhaps Philp's economic observation may be applied to sport in the community as well, and if so, the Imperial troops may never have represented the "be-all and end-all" of local sport.

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[42] Philp, "The Economic and Social Effects of British Garrisons in the Development of Western Upper Canada," p. 48.

After examining the influence which British regulars had on the colony throughout the nineteenth century, Massey surmized that:

> Before the Civil War brought large numbers of British troops to Canada, the relative influence of the military in Canadian life had declined steadily as a consequence of the growth of the civil population.[43]

There is most certainly merit to Massey's statement. Not only did the mere growth of the population decrease the influence of the Imperial forces; the developing nationalism limited the link with the Crown as well. As a result, Canadians looked less and less to the soldiers as a tie with the homeland and felt less responsible for maintaining a semblance of things 'British' in the colony. The same can be said for sport. As the century progressed and the population increased steadily, the colonists relied less on the soldiers for their sporting experiences than they had in previous years. By the time the troops departed in 1871, it is questionable whether the military sportsmen were missed.

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[43] Massey, The Canadian Military, p. 67.

In the early years of the century, military personnel stationed in the colony enjoyed much more leisure time than did the inhabitants of the garrison towns they were intended to protect. At the same time, the rudiments of organized sport were being established in the garrison towns. Since the soldiers possessed both the available leisure time and the organizational abilities it was natural that they would provide the early leadership in the formation of the first Canadian clubs.

Horseracing provides a good example. The sport was commonly practised in French Canada yet only after the British troops arrived subsequent to the conquest did organized race meetings begin. One of the first organized Montreal events was held in 1811 and regular British officers were a notable addition to the committee of management.[44] Lindsay suggested that the soldiers' involvement was crucial to the success of the early race gatherings:

> Horse racing in the early decades of the nineteenth century depended almost entirely upon support from garrison officers. They provided most of the horses, the riders, the purses, the bets and the turf club officials. In fact, the Quebec Turf Club began as the Quebec Garrison Racing Club, which was formed to organize a programme of events as a result of interest aroused by a private match [between officers] on the

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[44] Montreal Gazette, August 12, 1811.

Plains of Abraham.[45] Not only were local clubs sometimes called by a military designation, but early races were occasionally dubbed the "Garrison Races." Whereas horseracing was a common and constant amusement in most of North America, in Halifax, the sport owed its very existence to the Imperial regulars. Originated by the military officers and the lieutenant-governor, the sport was constantly criticized because of the associated social problems which characterized race meetings and only survived because the military authorities decided to police the events themselves.[46]

But Montreal exhibited a unique difference toward the middle of the century that was soon evident in other garrison communities as well (with the exception of Halifax). After 1840, races were rarely held under the "Garrison" appellation and soon, individual events staged specifically for the British soldiers were arranged. While this outwardly represented a degree of recognition of the army institution, as has been noted previously, there was an underlying, and revealing reason for the action. Military equestrians, with rare exception, could no longer compete with their Canadian neighbours. The emergence of professional Canadian breeders undermined the officers' traditional superiority. Over time the town became the soldiers' sporting benefactor, and in horseracing, especially, they accommodated the Imperial visitors. This dramatic role reversal first occurred in Montreal because it was the largest urban area in the colony and the cultural capital of the emerging nation. Montreal society was the colonial élite and set the pace and example for other communities to follow. Because of its social prominence, the foremost colonial breeders established their stables there and thus the garrison officers who had once lifted Montreal equestrian sport by their bootstraps were now relegated to a minor, 'charity-like' position. They were offered races by the local club. Soon, Toronto and Quebec reflected similar stages of development, then Three Rivers, Kingston, Niagara, London and Windsor (Amherstburg). Perhaps the soldiers were treated unfairly. They contributed to the organization of the embryo colonial sport forms when they possessed the expertise that was absent in the early colony. For this they must receive full credit. However, as the population grew, and the colonial sport forms matured, the impact of the Imperial regulars decreased significantly.

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[45] Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," p. 351.

[46] See Howell, "A History of Horseracing in Halifax," passim.

Kingston, as a smaller community, generally reflected the situation which prevailed in Montreal although it was normally delayed. At Halifax, however, the military appeared to retain much of the influence in sporting matters that they had shown in the early years of the century. Even though the Haligonian population continued to grow at a steady rate, the military still dominated many of the sport forms in the community. Unlike Montreal, the military continued to occupy a lofty niche in the social life of the community in Halifax. The garrison was the largest and most diversified in Canada, and owing to the large naval force that remained in the town, a large number of British officers were in garrison. Furthermore, Haligonian sport had probably been more dependent on the Imperial regulars than that of any other station community. Local horseracing was a product of military interest.[47] Cricket succeeded because of the prominence of the military garrisons throughout the century.[48] Whereas track and field events were organized by civilian groups in Montreal, such as the Olympic Club, Haligonian athletics were usually the product of regimental games.

Thus, one must be careful in assessing this apparent declining position of the military in the sporting community. Ceremonially, the military were prominent in the social circles of the colonial towns until their general withdrawal in 1871. But their impact on this developing society had declined steadily. Sport mirrored this situation. As the century progressed, they were no longer looked to as the organizers of the social events, including the sporting events. Rather, they looked more and more to the community to provide their leisure and social experiences. When Cox introduced his study of post-Confederation Canadian sport, he emphasized that:

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Moss, "Cricket in Nova Scotia During the Nineteenth Century," passim.

> The withdrawal of the Imperial garrison forces by 1872 brought about a considerable change in the social atmosphere during this period. The British influence on sports lessened, and a Canadian identity began to emerge.[49]

But he overemphasized the impact of the soldiers. The Imperial regulars left and they were sorely missed as competitors and colourful figures. But their departure changed the colonial society in a very minor way, and the British influence on sports remained. By 1872 a Canadian identity had already begun to emerge, and the soldiers had done little to depress it, the success of lacrosse verified this. The British forces were instrumental to the development of sport in the early years of the colony, however, as the colonial society matured, the impact of the troops lessened.

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[49] Allan E. Cox, "The History of Sport in Canada, 1867-1900," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969, p. 41.

The Military, Sport and the Changing Colonial Landscape

Throughout the nineteenth century, as the colonists' amount of leisure time increased, sport became a salient feature of the British North American society. Because of its growing importance, open spaces and facilities constructed for the purpose of sport became common in the early colonial communities. At the same time, the presence of the British military forces necessitated a certain amount of garrison land and facilities too. Significantly, these open spaces and facilities were frequently the same, particularly the areas used for field sports. Often, these parcels of land were originally set aside as military reserves and were later utilized as sports facilities. Therefore, with reference to colonial sporting facilities, it would appear that the Canadian sportsmen owed a considerable debt to the Imperial regulars.

At Kingston, most of the early, natural sports facilities were actually military reserves. Cricket was first played on the government's parade ground[50] and in 1852, this Ordnance Reserve was deeded to the city.[51] On

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[50] *Chronicle and Gazette*, Kingston, August 1, 1835, p. 3.

[51] *Daily British Whig*, Kingston, December 24, 1852, p. 2; May 18, 1853, p. 2.

May 18, 1853, the Daily British Whig announced that the City Council had consented to throw the ceded lands open to the public, but implied that this was long overdue because the reserve had been granted to the city explicitly for the use of the inhabitants. Subsequently, the new "park" became known as the "Cricket Ground," a name by which it is still recognized by Kingstonians today.

Another facility that assumed a similar dichotomous character was the Barriefield Common, a large tract of land that was located adjacent to Fort Henry. Although the land was originally a military parade ground, it was constantly utilized as a sporting facility, particularly for track and field contests. Civilians freely used the facility for their sporting competitions. The military reserve at Point Frederick provided a similar facility and it too was commonly used by civilian sportsmen, often in concert with military athletes. The army institution owned these facilities and since building was restricted on these lands, it was natural that they were used for sport. When the military utility of the lands was undermined by technological advancements, the lands were given to the various communities. This often occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century, at the same time that the need for recreational parklands was realized by colonial authorities. Since the military reserves were free of construction, it was logical that these areas be set aside as community parks.

Recreational facilities at Halifax were almost entirely located on military land reserves. Most Haligonian sport, from horseracing to cricket, was practised on the Halifax Common. This land, located adjacent to the citadel of Fort George, was granted to the public officers of the town in 1763 by the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.[52] During the subsequent years, the ownership of the acreage was frequently disputed. The problem arose because of the actions of a Justice for Halifax County who, in 1800 and without legal authority, gave to the British Government the north part of the Common for the purpose of exercising and encamping troops whenever required. In 1851, the problem was clarified when it was enacted that the area of the Common called the "Exercising Ground," adjacent to the citadel, was to be always kept open for the use of the troops, otherwise, the rights of the Common were to be vested in the City Council. But these problems did not interfere with the practise of sports and amusements on the Common, either by the military or the local population.

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[52] Nova Scotian, August 23, 1858, p. 6; Petition of the City of Halifax, N.S., to Her Majesty the Queen representing the interference of the Military Authorities with the Common of Halifax, Halifax: James Bowes and Son, 1859, pp. 20-1. For a summary account of the history of the Halifax Common see Elsie M. McFarland, The Development of Public Recreation in Canada, Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970, p. 7. For a more detailed account see, Susan E. Markham, "A History of the Halifax Common, 1749-1979," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 1980.

Point Pleasant, an area of approximately two hundred acres, comprised the southern tip of the peninsula of Halifax. For much of the nineteenth century it was a military reserve, commonly used for ball (target) practice. But military athletics were sponsored there as well and the civilian population was encouraged to attend the events both as spectators and competitors. By 1866, the military had ceded the land to the Nova Scotia government and an act was passed to incorporate the new park. But the title to the land was automatically held by the emerging federal government and a lease for the property was not granted until 1875.[53] Nevertheless, the open space was still a product of previous military ownership and the citizens of Halifax eventually prospered from it.

George Beers aptly demonstrated in 1867 that Montrealers were largely dependent on the Imperial regulars for their sporting experiences, at least as far as facilities were concerned. At Montreal, the fortified prison and armoury of St. Helen's Island often provided the sporting venue for contests between the garrison and the resident community clubs. Although originally a longtime possession of a noteworthy French family, the property was purchased by the British Colonial Office for defensive purposes in 1818.[54] Because of its strategic location, the island was normally out of bounds to civilians. This did not, however, hinder the local commanders whenever they decided to open the restricted area for the amusement of their Canadian neighbours. Upon the withdrawal of the Imperial troops in 1871, the reserve was ceded to the Dominion Government at which time it was used as a militia training facility. With the assent of the Militia Department, the land was utilized as a public park beginning in 1874 and in 1905 it was purchased from the government by the City of Montreal.[55]

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[53] McFarland, The Development of Public Recreation in Canada, p. 9.

Thus, in field activities particularly, Canadian sportsmen usually participated in recreational activities on military facilities and open lands. While some may choose to discount the military indebtedness, claiming that if the lands had not been reserved in the first case there would have been no need for the civilians to petition for their use, it would appear that if the British

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[54] Ibid., p. 10.

[55] Ibid.

Government had not retained control of these centrally-located areas they would have undergone rapid commercial development. In that case, colonial sportsmen would have had to go elsewhere to satisfy their sporting urges. Whereas many sporting activities, such as curling, aquatics and sleighing were not dependent on the military facilities for their successful implementation into Canadian society, others were. In every nineteenth century Canadian community, sport had a considerable effect on the visible cultural and geographical landscape. Because of the original military reserves that were set aside by the Colonial Office for the use of British garrisons, the emerging Canadian sport forms had centrally-located gathering places which their ardent followers could use.

The National Character of the Imperial Regiments and Canadian Sport

Similar to Rooney's spatial variation in games is what he has labelled as sports and national character. As a representative segment of an area's overall socio-cultural geography, sports geography often differs according to the customs and heritage of a particular people. Whereas the spatial variation in games exists on a microscopic, or regional level, sport and national character are more macroscopic insofar as they are normally associated on a national level. Between the two exists an interesting relationship, particularly in a colonial land such as British North America. Because of the natural sporting character of the immigrants who settled the new colony, a local variation in games often developed. The British regiments, coming as they did from different geographical areas of the British Isles, reinforced this national character in the sporting pursuits of the colonists. In fact, the presence of a particular unit occasionally influenced the local sporting emphasis during their stay in a particular garrison.

This regimental sporting preference has been seen most clearly in the presence of two distinct types of units. First, much of the responsibility for the emergence of cricket in the colony must go to those British regiments which came from the north or south of England. Yorkshire was synonymous with cricket prowess. Second, the national character of the Scots was aptly demonstrated by the numerous Scottish regiments that served in garrison throughout British North America. Because of their presence, curling and track and field events were often stimulated in the colonial communities.

In 1845, there was a minor resurgence in the game of cricket in Halifax. On August 4, the Nova Scotian reported that the "Noble Game" was again coming into vogue because of the exertions of the Imperial units then in garrison.

There had been a noticeable lapse of play since 1842. The unit responsible for the re-emergence of the game was the 43rd Regiment, later the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry. But the 43rd left Halifax in March, 1846 and the unit that replaced it, the 77th Regiment, was not renowned for its "knights of the willow". As a result, the sport was not reported again in Halifax until August, 1853 when the 76th (Hindoostan) Regiment arrived in garrison.[56] This unit, which was raised in the West Riding area, remained in garrison until the spring of 1857, and not coincidentally, the sport of cricket was actively practised throughout this period.

Although much of the success of cricket as a major Canadian sport form in the nineteenth century was a result of military patronage, not all British regiments counted devout cricketers among their ranks. At the same time, although cricket was probably the national sport of England, not all areas of the country participated in the sport with unabated fervour. Generally, the northeast was considered to be the foremost cricket domain in the British Isles and as a result, regiments coming from that region were more disposed towards cricket than others. When these units were stationed in Canadian garrisons, they were quick to introduce cricket as a local sport form. Because of their interest, and the example that it set for the numerous British (English) immigrants in the colony, cricket became so popular that it was the most widely practised sport form in the colony throughout most of the nineteenth century.

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[56] Nova Scotian, August 29, 1853, p. 274. The 76th challenged the Halifax Club or any corps in garrison to a friendly match "in consequence of the dullness of the garrison."

Perhaps more dynamic than these northern units in their orientation to national sports were those regiments of Scottish origin. Wherever they were stationed, these units were quick to introduce the sports of their homeland. In tracing the impact of the Scots on the development of Canadian sport in the nineteenth century, Redmond identified the extent of the Scottish sporting heritage:

> In short, the people of Scotland have exhibited their ingenuity, enthusiasm, and prowess, in many sports, for a considerable time; and have greatly contributed to the sporting reputation and tradition associated with the term "British."[57]

The Scottish regiments bore evidence of this ingenuity, enthusiasm and prowess in sports while they were in garrison in British North America. Not only did they introduce the sports of their homeland, but they also engaged in activities that were traditionally foreign to them. Whenever a sporting opportunity presented itself,

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[57] Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada," p. 6.

Scottish soldiers took full advantage of it. Certain regiments were particularly sports-oriented. The regiment that must be acclaimed as the premier sporting regiment of the British Army was a Scottish unit, the 71st Highland Light Infantry. This unit, which had a long tenure of service in Canada, participated in every sport form that was practised in the colony during their stay. When the regiment was transferred to Montreal in 1842, after a two and one half year stay at St. Johns in Canada East, it was praised for its contribution to the community's amusement:

> [Be it resolved] that the thanks of the meeting are due to the officers of this distinguished regiment, for the liberal and spirited manner in which they have contributed to promote public amusements of all kinds and the improvement of the place generally.[58]

Most notably, several sports had been part of this amusement including curling, athletics, cricket, fox hunting, horseracing, steeplechasing, sleighing and aquatics. With the arrival of this regiment, Montrealers had much in the way of sport to look forward to. They were not disappointed.

Whereas British military units appeared to contribute little to the development of curling in the colony, some Scottish regiments did contribute to the sport as competitors. In fact, because of their curling heritage, they were often considered to be the 'cream' of Canadian curling. The Daily British Whig capitalized on this prowess in 1853 when a match was arranged between the Kingston Club and the 71st Regiment:

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[58] Montreal Gazette, April 30, 1842, p. 2.

> As the majority of the members of the Kingston Club are experienced, and many of them veteran players, their struggle to carry off from the 71st the reputation which it has acquired at this the Scotchman's national game will be exceedingly interesting, probably exciting.[59]

When the local club prevailed over the soldiers 58-55 in a two rink match, the Whig boasted that: "When, however, it is considered that the 71st Regiment has hitherto borne off the palm of victory from nearly every curling club in Canada, it is no small honor for the Kingston Club to have beaten it."[60] The editor then claimed the championship of Canada for the local curlers, a claim that was quickly rebutted by a Montreal curler.[61] By their reputation alone the military curlers of Scottish heritage contributed to the development of Canadian curling.

In track and field athletics, Scottish units exerted similar prowess as competitors. At Halifax, in 1871, highland games were organized by the North British and Highland Societies of the town in conjunction with the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir Walter Scott. The events, held at the Horticultural Gardens were a tremendous success, and: "A majority of the prizes, as was the case last year, were carried off by men belonging to the 78th Highlanders."[62] Whenever a Scottish unit was in garrison, civilian sportsmen had little chance of succeeding in local Caledonian Games competitions. But occasionally, Scottish immigrants could outdo their military compatriots. At a highland gathering held in Kingston in 1863, Caledonian Games were the premier feature of the day. Members of the Scots Fusilier Guards, then in garrison because of the American conflict, entered every event in large numbers. Despite their heritage and their numbers, the soldiers were outdone in almost every event by the brothers MacLennan, two civilians.[63] But at the Montreal events, the sportsmen from the right wing of the regiment did not encounter such talented civilians and were therefore prominent among the winners of the annual Caledonian Games in that place.[64] This latter experience was generally the case. Scottish soldiers always performed admirably in the Caledonian Games. Several, the most notable of whom was Sgt. McGillivray of the 93rd Highlanders, often dominated the contests.[65] Ultimately, the soldiers spurred the development of athletics in the colony.

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[59] Daily British Whig, Kingston, February 25, 1853, p. 2.

[60] Ibid., February 28, 1853, p. 2.

[61] Ibid., March 14, 1853, p. 2.

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[62] Morning Chronicle, Halifax, August 16, 1871, p. 1.

[63] Daily News, Kingston, August 18, 1863, p. 2.

[64] Montreal Gazette, August 13, 1863, p. 2.

Scottish regiments were also active in cricket, sleighing, aquatics and equestrian sports although their contribution there was never as great as it was in the sports of their homeland. Some regiments, such as the 71st Highlanders, appeared to participate in sports whenever possible, regardless of the nature of the sporting activity. Others, and the majority, were particularly conspicuous in those activities which were traditionally Scottish, namely, curling and the Caledonian Games. For these units, their regimental sport reflected the national character of the soldiers themselves, and ultimately, the socio-cultural geography of their homeland. When these units came to the North American colony, they acted as newly arrived immigrants who fostered the cultural ties with the homeland for those who had emigrated earlier. As a result, Canadian sport became a mosaic of foreign activities.

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[65] Ibid., August 29, 1844, p. 2.

The Geographical Interpretation: A Summary

Geographical considerations played a dual role in the relationship between the British garrisons and the development of sport in the North American colony. First, the geographical properties of the colony conditioned in a large measure the types of sporting activities that could be practised in the colony. The severe winter climate and the natural hydrography that characterized most settlements had a major impact on the sports that gained prominence among Canadians. Second, the characteristics of the soldiers themselves, as products of another geographical area, had a substantial impact on the nature of sporting activities that characterized the emerging Canadian nation.

Despite geographical characteristics that were quite foreign to the newly-arrived garrison personnel, most British soldiers reacted favourably to the Canadian climate. The winter, which was perhaps the greatest shock experienced by the troops, was soon seen as a recreational ally. Because of the severity of the climate, regular duties were relaxed and the men were allowed to engage in any of the numerous colonial amusements. For the most part, they took full advantage of the opportunity. As a result, most troops expressed pleasure at being posted in the North American colonies.

Geography also surfaced as a condition which determined the sporting preferences of certain regions within the colony. Rather than serving as a moderating force, as might have been suspected owing to the army's institutional nature, the Imperial regulars adopted the regional variations in sport that they encountered. The most notable example occurred at Kingston, where soldiers competed in regattas, events that appear, on the surface, to be foreign to them. The soldiers were simply looking for a way to spend their leisure hours, and supported the regional variations that became characteristic of Canadian sport.

That the military took the lead in the diffusion of games throughout the colony is doubtful. Soldiers were responsible for introducing many activities to certain areas (ie. cricket to Kingston; steeplechasing to Montreal; horseracing to Halifax) but normally, sporting activities were introduced into hinterland communities by the civilian settlers. The soldiers' forte appeared to concern the refinement of these activities. In this capacity, they contributed greatly to the organization of colonial sports, especially the formation of community clubs.

Both sport and the garrisons were largely urban-based in the nineteenth century. When the colonial communities were in their infancy, the garrisons were an important social and economic force. The same can be said for their sporting contribution. Community horseraces were not necessarily the products of local equestrian enthusiasts but often resulted from the exertions of the soldiers, thus the appellation "Garrison Races." But as the colonial towns matured, the impact of the military garrisons on the local society declined. Sport was no exception. Soon, it was clearly evident that the Imperial regulars looked to the civilians for their sporting experiences.

Just as the military's social and economical impact declined, so too did their defensive responsibilities. But this served to stimulate Canadian sport, particularly with reference to the colonial landscape. In the early years of the colony, the British Government had set aside military reserves to be used in the future for defensive installations. Many of these remained as open fields and were used by civilian sportsmen as sports facilities, with the permission of the local military authorities. When the Colonial Office deemed that these tracts of land were no longer essential to the defence of the colony, they were usually ceded to the community and remained as recreational facilities. Thus, sport had a visible effect on the cultural and geographical landscape of the nineteenth century Canadian communities and the military were largely responsible for it.

The geographical heredity of the British regiments which garrisoned Canadian communities was also significant in the development of Canadian sport. If a unit came from the northeast of England, it could be expected to be a major cricket power. Whenever a Scottish unit was transferred to a town, its citizens could expect to see new sporting blood injected into the local society, especially in curling and athletics. Imperial regiments represented a degree of national character, and frequently, this unique character was manifest in sport.

In part, Canadian sport was a product of geography, both of the territory itself and of the lands which its immigrants left behind. The Imperial regulars were simply immigrants who brought part of their traditional lifestyle with them. This was particularly evident in sport. When they entered the colonial communities, they practised those pastimes with which they were familiar, thus ensuring that they became prominent aspects in Canada's sporting mosaic.

CHAPTER VI

The Imperial Forces and the Mosaic of Canadian Sport: Summary and Conclusions

Introduction

As the nineteenth century progressed, sport became an increasingly important component of Canadian society and culture. The pattern (or mosaic) of Canadian sport changed too as new pastimes were introduced to the colonial setting and some activities gained prominence over others. The British forces stationed in the colony played an integral role in the development of Canada's sporting culture. The background of the military personnel, their colonial expectations, the army institution in which they functioned, the political circumstances which conditioned imperial relations and the numerous geographical variations of the motherland and the colonies had a considerable effect on the emerging sporting society and culture in British North America.

As an aspect of Canadian society and culture, sport was a product of all these factors. But the factors were not solely functions of the military presence. The colonists, their backgrounds and social expectations were also extremely important in the formation of colonial sporting values and preferences. The lifestyle of the settlers, based largely on the colonial economy, paralleled the lifestyle of the troops' institutional habitat insofar as it determined, in a large measure, the availability of recreational opportunity. At the same time, the political impact of Imperial relations affected both the civilians and the soldiers in similar ways. A common geography too was shared. As suggested previously, the Imperial regulars were little more than recent immigrants, invested with the priorities and preferences of the mother country. But they wielded extraordinary power owing to their unique lifestyle, and thus exerted a significant influence on the colonial society in which they found themselves.

A key factor in the evaluation of the troops' impact on Canadian sporting society in the nineteenth century is the interchange that occurred between the soldiers and the colonists. In some instances, it was readily apparent that the garrison personnel contributed in a positive way in moulding community sport wherever they were stationed. At other times, however, the local townspeople clearly took the lead and established sporting activities in which the Imperial regulars were invited to participate.

In some sporting activities, the military presence was continually visible. In fact, the soldiers could be said to have dominated many activities. As competitors, judges and organizers the troops controlled the activities to the extent that colonial editors at some times voiced displeasure at their dominance. While Canadian sportsmen may have been frustrated by the troops' athletic prowess at times, the soldiers' contribution to the development of organized Canadian sport cannot be doubted.

However, the military were conspicuously absent from several sports too, most notably those which were indigenous to North America. But this did not appear to affect the development of these activities in any negative fashion, in fact, lacrosse experienced phenomenal growth. Thus, the precise impact of the troops on the development of Canadian sport was largely sport specific.

But even in those activities in which the military appeared to dominate, the colonists occasionally provided leadership for their military neighbours. In many sports, the troops were dependent visitors, and looked to the garrison townspeople for their recreational opportunities.

These differences were largely the result of the geographical variations in which the Imperial regulars found themselves, not the physical geography particularly, but rather the urban setting. The extent of sporting development differed considerably in Halifax, Montreal and Kingston and the impact of the soldiers' presence varied accordingly.

But in retrospect, the Imperial regulars were important sporting figures in the colony. Their contribution to the development of Canadian sport was both widespread and significant. Regardless of the problems that arose between the Imperial visitors and their colonial hosts, even on the field of sport, their contribution should not be underemphasized.

The Dominant Military

Throughout the nineteenth century the Imperial regulars emerged as a dominant force in many sporting activities. This dominance took many forms. At times, soldiers appeared to constitute the majority of competitors while at other times they provided essential organization and leadership. The extent of this military involvement was usually dependent on the rationale behind the actions of the soldier-sportsman. British troops engaged in sporting pastimes while stationed in the colony in order to satisfy many needs which were the result of overseas duty. Many activities were practised in an attempt to overcome the boredom associated with the long Canadian winter. Others represented remnants of home, and signified a personal, nostalgic look at the past. Still others were instituted to facilitate training and offer a boost to sagging morale. But regardless of the intended purpose, military exertions in the field of sport frequently eclipsed those of their civilian counterparts.

Although military influence was manifest in nearly all Canadian activities at one time or another, certain sports were largely products of soldier patronage. In horseracing, steeplechasing, sleighing, cricket and rowing the soldiers showed a marked dominance. The reasons for this domination varied although the availability of equipment and facilities was commonly the basis for the soldiers' superiority. These activities had a dramatic impact on the development of Canadian sport.

Military equestrians provided much of the leadership in colonial horseracing in the early years of the nineteenth century owing to the fact that they were the owners of fine military horses. Characteristic were the Halifax races in which the soldiers were the originators and major competitors in the events. But as the century passed, Canadian breeders established stables and eventually surpassed the military against whom they had competed unsuccessfully for so many years. Horseracing became a major Canadian amusement and succeeded largely because of the challenge offered by the troops. While it would be naive to suggest that the sport of horseracing would not have become a major Canadian sport form without the stimulus provided by the Imperial regulars, the competitive element provided by the troops surely heightened the colonists' equestrian awareness and encouraged colonial breeding. As a result, the success of

Canadian horseracing must owe its heritage in part to the exertions of the British officers who championed horseracing as a favourite diversion.

The sport of steeplechasing provides a similar example with a different bearing on the development of Canadian sport. Whereas the military provided a stimulus similar to that seen on the racetrack, the impact of the activity on the cultural mosaic of nineteenth century Canadian sport was quite different. Steeplechasing never became a major colonial sport form nor were the colonists enticed into the sport with a fervour similar to that evident on the racetrack. There were several reasons for this. First, the sport was not conducive to the spectatorism that invested horseracing with such an avid following. Thus, its potential success was restricted, especially when betting became such a prominent feature of equestrian sports. Second was the geographical impact of the changing cultural landscape. The activity was harassing to colonial farmers and as more land was harvested, steeplechasing suffered the negative opinions that sounded the death knell of its sister sport, fox hunting. Consequently, although the Imperial forces made a major contribution in moulding the sport of horseracing within the sporting society of nineteenth century Canada, the same cannot be said for the sport of steeplechasing.

Formalized sleighing in early British North America was dominated by military tandem clubs, and all too often local journals reported that meetings were exclusively composed of "the Sons of Mars of the Garrison, not a single Mufti having shown."[1] Civilian sleighs did accompany the military excursionists but their numbers were normally inferior and rare were the impressive four-in-hands which the senior officers possessed. But this military dominance did little to dramatically affect the development of early Canadian sport. Sleighing, although a popular winter pastime, was not a major nineteenth century sport. While the activity was representative of Canada, and became a cultural symbol which was readily associated with the Canadian winter, it failed to attain the publicized popularity of other pastimes. Nevertheless, the soldiers were responsible for creating a romantic version of "the real Canada,"[2] and the buffalo robes and "muffins" became trademarks of the Canadian way of life.

While some might argue that the Imperial regulars stationed in the North American colony emphasized the game of cricket in the hope that it would help preserve those things 'British' in the western dependency, others would assert that the troops were merely practising a pastime that was common in their homeland. The success of cricket certainly had a diplomatic effect as suggested by the former, although the latter explanation would seem to be the more plausible of the two. But regardless of the covert impact that the sport may have had, it must be recognized as the most popular sport form in nineteenth century Canada, despite its decline in the late 1860s and mid-1870s in the face of the newly popularized North American sports of lacrosse and baseball. Against the backdrop of tremendous civilian popularity in the towns of the colony, military clubs remained as perhaps the most important competitive stimulus to the sport. In fact, it has been shown that the success of the activity was often directly proportional to the presence of units which lauded cricket. For this the troops should receive just praise. Conversely, an analysis of contemporary Canadian sport would minimize the impact of the Imperial regulars on the development of sport owing to the near absence of cricket since the 1890s. But with reference to the nineteenth century, cricket was the dominant form of organized sport and the military were integral to its success.

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[1] Nova Scotian, December 8, 1842, p. 390.

[2] O'Callaghan, Guns, Gunners and Others, p. 21.

Aquatic sports, particularly rowing, offer yet another glimpse of the impact of the Imperial redcoats on the emerging sports mosaic of nineteenth century Canada. Due to the presence of the Royal Navy, organized regattas were common throughout the colony. But the colonial hydrography ensured that a segment of the population would gain their living from the sea and consequently, aquatic recreations would follow. The soldiers and sailors were less involved in the activity in the Montreal area where the sport was a product of civilian exertions. But at Halifax, and to a lesser degree at Kingston, the military provided obvious organization and leadership. What impact did this have on the development of the sport of rowing in Canada? Halifax rowing was certainly refined owing to the military patronage and the resulting formalized competitions gave rise to the career of George Brown, the champion sculler. Similar interest spread to New Brunswick and was instrumental in the formation and eventual world-wide renown of the Paris Crew. And what of the later success of Edward "Ned" Hanlan? Canada received notable acclaim around the globe from the victories of the Saint John crew and "Ned" Hanlan. The country was reputed as an aquatic power, a reputation the extended into the twentieth century in the likes of Lou Scholes. It must be remembered that organized rowing was first evident and later evolved in the Maritimes where the military were the primary exponents of the sport. The colony's sporting culture was notably maritime, and for this the Imperial forces should be recognized.

In several sports, British regulars exercised a distinct dominance. Sometimes this domination was a result of superior skill, sometimes it came from superior equipment and at other times it was a product of more efficient organization. But regardless of the source of the soldiers' success, it had a marked impact on the development of colonial sport. The most critical feature was probably the degree of leadership provided by the troops. Any activity that could be formally organized normally was, and civilian sportsmen seemed to take advantage of the soldiers' lead. However, the success of an activity was not ensured by military patronage alone, as borne out by the sport of steeplechasing. Despite military support, an activity had to capture the interest of the civilian population to be successful. Frequently, military skill or organization supplied the necessary ingredients but this was not always the case. The spectator appeal of an activity was equally important. Nevertheless, the Imperial regulars did dominate several Canadian sporting activities and, significantly, many of these attained considerable popularity within the colonial sporting society.

The Military Void

Although the Imperial regulars dominated some sporting activities, they were also noticeably absent from others, the most noteworthy of which were some indigenous sports. Not only were the troops apparently inactive within the community, as was often suggested by an absence of military reports in newspapers, but they were frequently averse to participating in civilian activities. Club sports particularly were usually devoid of military members.

The soldiers' apparent reluctance to participate in the sport of lacrosse has been discussed. When the sport first gained recognition in Montreal in 1860, when the newly formed Crosse Club presented the Prince of Wales with a silver mounted crosse,[3] the local British representatives, the Imperial regulars, did nothing to salute the club for its royal recognition. Nor did they actively support the lacrosse 'boom' of 1867. When lacrosse suddenly superseded cricket as the most popular sport form in the Montreal area in that year, the role of the military as a leader in Canadian sport had lessened considerably. By choice, the soldiers excluded themselves from this fast growing indigenous sport. As a result, the influence of the military in the Montreal area became less significant from this point in time onwards and, when the troops departed for England in 1871, their social loss represented less burden to the local sportsmen than it had during the lean years of the Crimean War. Whereas the soldier-sportsmen were sorely missed in 1854 and 1855, they were mourned by a paltry few Canadian sportsmen when they embarked for Great Britain in 1871.

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[3] Montreal Gazette, September 13, 1860, p. 2.

But the apparent military void in the sport of lacrosse may have had a greater effect on the development of that activity throughout the Dominion. Lacrosse was extremely popular in the Montreal and Toronto regions but did not extend across the country as the English sport of cricket had. The Maritime provinces were slow to adopt lacrosse as a favourite pastime. This would not have been the case if the Imperial regulars had chosen to support the sport. Troops and regiments transferred to the coast would have introduced the activity and the army authorities would have initiated the sport as a medium of training. But because the British forces remained aloof from the sport, no such transfer was forthcoming. And this had a considerable effect on the ultimate diffusion of the sport of lacrosse and the resultant character of Canadian maritime sport.

In skating and curling, the military participated yet rarely took any official leadership role. Rather, the troops took full advantage of the existing colonial sporting framework in an apparent attempt to further their personal sporting or recreational experiences. Although these sports were essentially European transplants, they became recognized as Canadian cultural indices. But the Imperial forces had no part in the identification of these pursuits as Canadian, nor did their lack of involvement stymie the reputation that each gained as a Canadian pastime. The reluctance of the military to become engaged in the development of these sports, despite their participation, did little to hinder their growth and popularity in the colony.

In most sports, the absence of military patronage in the organization of events had an effect that was inversely proportional to the growth of the colonial population as the nineteenth century progressed. This has been suggested previously with reference to the development of equestrian sports. As colonial towns and cities grew, and the colonial lifestyle became more leisure-oriented, the settlers created their own sporting experiences on the foundations that had been provided by the British forces. When the soldiers chose to promote many sporting activities through regimental or garrison clubs, the townspeople were forced to establish community clubs and support their own recreational programs without the original toadying to the military. Thus, despite military competition in many sporting activities, the civilians became responsible for their own sport forms. In establishing community clubs and contests, less and less assistance was required from the military ranks until eventually, the soldiers' expertise was not required at all. Civilian sports clubs were firmly entrenched within the social fabric of the towns and eventually, the absence of the military was the result of this civilian sporting maturation.

By the 1860s, the military void no longer represented mere non-involvement in a particular sporting activity. Rather, it entailed a degree of confinement or even solitude. The troops were no longer essential to the sporting community, their original expertise had been copied and even surpassed by their civilian counterparts. Whereas the troops had provided a sporting opportunity for the civilians in the early years of the century, the roles were now reversed. For recreational purposes, the Imperial regulars were no longer essential members of the community. They had outgrown much of their usefulness in the colonial setting. Strategically, the American threat had subsided; economically, the troops were a severe burden on the Imperial treasury; socially, the soldiers were merely ornaments. The void which originally had been a result of military preference had now become an impersonal social exclusion. The Imperial forces now benefitted from the colonists' social and cultural setting.

And the sporting society became no less impersonal to the Queen's representatives. By the 1860s the community was largely responsible for contributing to the recreational activities of the garrison.

The Transition of Leadership

Once sport forms became established in the colony, the transient nature of the Imperial forces led to a social role reversal which altered what had been the foundation of British North American sport. It must be concluded that the British regulars were instrumental in the early formation of organized sporting events, community clubs and the codification of rules in many activities. However, this expertise was soon grasped by the colonists themselves and eventually the leadership provided originally by the troops was supplied from within the civilian ranks. This effectively undermined the social and sporting reliance that had originally been heaped upon the shoulders of the British officers and ultimately, they found themselves in somewhat of a social void. From this intangible change in status emerged a sporting society in nineteenth century Canada in which the host community sponsored events for the resident garrison.

In some sporting activities, such as curling, the civilian clubs had always entertained those military sportsmen interested in acquiring the necessary skills.

In 1856, when the troops had returned from the Crimea, the Montreal Curling Club offered the usual toast to the soldiers but the president accompanied the annual gesture with the statement that the club was ". . . delighted to see the red coats with them again, after performing the feats they had done in the Crimea, and especially that these soldiers should join in this manly game."[4] Military involvement in the sport of curling had never been particularly conspicuous and this was but one more attempt to include the garrison personnel in the social life of the community. A similar civilian encouragement was shown the soldiers with respect to snow shoeing, tobogganing, skating, shooting competitions and picnics. But these were largely indigenous activities, and a basic familiarity with the mechanics of each was obviously lacking. It was only natural that the civilian sportsmen would tutor the troops.

But after the British troops left the colony in 1871, those sporting activities in which the garrison sportsmen had maintained a dominant role did not disappear or decline in popularity. When organized sporting competitions were originally introduced to the colony the troops had provided a significant stimulus. Despite this original contribution however, civilian leadership had surfaced even before the troops embarked for Great Britain. In almost every activity throughout the centres of the Dominion, the townspeople had contributed to garrison sport.

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[4] Ibid., December 13, 1856, p. 2.

Regatta sports were clearly a civilian product at Lachine, Montreal sportsmen having organized the events and invited the resident garrison personnel to compete annually. At Kingston, aquatic sports were usually the result of a co-operative effort by military and civilian sportsmen. At Halifax, regattas were clearly sponsored by the Royal Navy in the early years of the nineteenth century. With rare exceptions, their patronage was received throughout the century. But as the century progressed, this patronage took on a new form. Whereas the troops had provided the complete organization of the aquatic events in the formative years of the sports, by the 1850s their responsibility had shifted so that their primary task was the provision of equipment. This was still very important and integral to the success of the events yet signalled a declining importance for the soldiers. In fact, on September 11, 1854 the Nova Scotian announced that the municipal corporation had created the Halifax City Committee of Management to oversee the arrangements of the annual regatta. According to their mandate, they were to invite the United Services to co-operate with them. The resulting classification of duties suggested that the civilian management would co-ordinate the event while the military scoured its ranks for subscriptions and made arrangements for the provision of equipment and facilities. Naturally, the station commander was invited to serve as one of the patrons of the event, joining the mayor as the respectable figureheads.

There is no doubt that the military assistance was appreciated. Whether it was integral to the success of the events by this time is another matter. After 1854, every regatta originated with the town or the Halifax Yacht Club. Periodically, newspaper reports intimated that the garrison officers had acquiesced in the scheme from the beginning but normally they either offered or were to be invited to assist with the preparations after they were under way. While this does not imply that the Imperial forces were no longer interested in the sports, it would appear to indicate that the local civilian aquatic enthusiasts were the primary leaders in the organization of the events.

Even in athletics, despite the prevailing regimental games, soldiers realized competition that was provided by their civilian neighbours. Except for Scottish units, which often held competitions in track and field athletics, most British regiments were indebted to local Caledonian clubs for their athletic amusement. When a meeting was called at the Commercial Hotel in Kingston in 1834 for the purpose of forming a local branch of the Highland Society of London, special eligibility was granted to those officers of highland corps serving in the town.[5] When the society sponsored its first athletic gathering ten years later, the military were cordially invited to participate.[6] In Montreal, soldiers were admitted at half price to the annual games of the Caledonian Society held at Guilbault's Garden.[7] Although the soldiers were not prominent among the competitors, their numbers made them particularly conspicuous among the ranks of spectators. At Halifax, however, where a Scottish unit was frequently among those in garrison, the civilian Caledonian picnics were commonly attended by the troops and the attendant athletic competitions were frequently dominated by them.[8]

Kingston track and field athletics provide a good example of the dramatic change in the sporting influence exerted by the Imperial forces over time. The first formal athletic event to be reported in Kingston journals was the regimental games sponsored by Lt. Col. Sir James E. Alexander for his troops in 1840.[9] The local editor, and even the Montreal Gazette,[10] commended the utility of such exhibitions without reservation and soon, in 1844, a civilian gathering was sponsored in each community. While regimental games continued to be held intermittently, civilian Caledonian gatherings became annual affairs to which the troops were invited to test their mettle against the local sportsmen. Whereas the initial, organizational stimulus for these events was provided by the Imperial regulars, in an attempt to enhance morale, they had a greater effect insofar as they led to the inaugural community gatherings which became such a permanent feature of nineteenth century Canadian sporting society. While the original idea rested with the British troops, the colonists were quick to adopt it, refine it, and entrench it as a salient feature of Canadian culture. Not only was this done in athletics, but similar strides were taken in almost every sporting activity practised by the Imperial forces in British North America. Although the redcoats had refined and even introduced many recreational activities to the colony, civilian leadership soon superseded the military exertions and eventually the colonists sponsored sporting activities for the dependent soldiers.

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[5] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, November 22, 1834, p. 2.

[6] Ibid., September 11, October 12, 16, 1844.

[7] See the Montreal Gazette, September 1, 1866, p. 3.

[8] See the Nova Scotian, August 30, 1869, p. 3.

[9] Chronicle and Gazette, Kingston, September 15, 1841, p. 3.

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[10] Montreal Gazette, September 29, 1841, p. 2.

The Garrisons at Halifax, Montreal and Kingston

With reference to the purpose of the study, Halifax, Montreal and Kingston were good representative geographical samples. It has been shown that sporting preferences differed across the colony and that for the most part, the Imperial regulars accommodated and even assimilated those sport forms practised in the communities in which they were stationed. The troops also contributed to the organization of local sporting activities, but their involvement in this capacity was not uniform among the soldiers of the various regiments that garrisoned Canada nor was it similar in the three communities examined in the study.

The degree of influence exerted by the Imperial forces was different in the three communities studied. Generally, the pattern of life within a smaller community was more profoundly affected by the permanent garrison there than was the lifestyle evident in the larger community. Sport mirrored this. At the same time, however, the presence of headquarters, or military leadership in the larger cities guaranteed military patronage in numerous sport forms and ultimately, spurred sporting organization.

Chronological considerations must also be taken into account. At Kingston, which remained relatively small throughout the period under study, the military were evident as competitors until their departure in 1871. The same situation prevailed at Halifax. But at Montreal, where sport blossomed among the civilians, the military sportsmen were often second class competitors. It should be remembered that military horseraces were introduced by the civilian members of the Montreal Turf Club so that officers could compete against equestrian enthusiasts of similar stature, since they were usually outdone by professional breeders. At Montreal, the development or sophistication of sport had surpassed the soldiers' ability to compete on an equal footing. Because the civilian population was so large in that city, the military numbers, despite their superiority compared to the tiny garrison at Kingston, were proportionately smaller. Ultimately this, combined with the fact that sport flourished as it did at Montreal, minimized the soldiers' contribution to the development of sport in that city.

For much of the period under study, Montreal was unrivalled as the sporting capital of Canada. As sport developed in the early years of the century, the military played a significant role. As the headquarters of the British Army in the Canadas, Montreal was home to some of the most senior officers in North America. Since these soldiers were ambassadors of the British Crown, they were highly visible figures, and used sport as a platform from which to promote their personal profile and that of the Crown. Local sports clubs welcomed the patronage of these individuals because they not only helped to publicize the club events but frequently sponsored them through financial or trophy donations. The relationship became mutually advantageous.

The other ranks were much less successful in their sporting relationship with the citizens of Montreal. Since sport there was so well-developed, and the number of civilian competitors was so large, it was difficult for the troops to succeed in Montreal events. Even in cricket, the premier regimental sport, only the finest garrison clubs could consistently defeat the civilian cricketers. Furthermore, because there were so many civilian competitors, the soldier-sportsmen were rarely essential to the success of an event. Rather, they offered a unique twist to most competitions, and simply added the colour of their uniforms and some international flavour to the sporting scene.

With rare exceptions, Montreal sports were largely self-sufficient and depended little on the Imperial regulars for their successful development within the community. Despite a degree of competitive success that was insignificant throughout much of the nineteenth century the soldiers provided patronage that was much appreciated and a unique competitive element that enhanced the attractiveness of local sporting events.

At Kingston, the relatively small population of the town ensured that the troops were looked upon as essential members of the sporting community. Whenever the senior military officer stationed in the community, usually the commander of the resident regiment, patronized a sporting event by his presence, more spectator interest was assured. Since he was one of the social giants of the community, his stature at sports gatherings equalled that of his superiors in the city of Montreal. Whenever one of these superiors visited Kingston the local sportsmen organized an event to capitalize on the crowd enthusiasm that was sure to be exhibited. Thus, the unit commanders stationed at Kingston exerted the same impact on the growth of sport in that town as did their senior military commanders in Montreal.

The British rank and file stationed at Kingston were much more integral to the development of sport there than were their comrades in Montreal. Whereas the military population at Montreal was double or triple that of Kingston, the civilian population of Montreal dwarfed that of the King's town. While a soldier athlete could find tremendous competition in Montreal, he would discover that Kingston sportsmen offered less challenge to his skills. For this reason, military sportsmen in Kingston fared better on the field of competition than did their counterparts in Montreal and ultimately, Kingston sport was enhanced by the challenge provided by these soldiers.

Unlike developments in Montreal, the development of sport in Kingston depended largely on the skill and variety provided by the visiting soldiers. The military sportsmen were successful competitors and this athletic expertise, combined with the patronage that was provided by the station commander, moulded the pattern of sport that developed in the town.

As suspected, the influence of the Imperial forces on the development of sport on the town of Halifax surpassed that of the forces at Montreal. But somewhat surprisingly, military sportsmen at Halifax even eclipsed the contribution made by their comrades in the smaller town of Kingston. There were two major reasons for this, first, the increased size and diversity of the garrison and second, an apparently dormant sports scene in the town of Halifax when compared to that of Montreal and even Kingston.

Throughout the period under study, the numerical strength of the Imperial forces at Halifax was superior to any other garrison in British North America. Because of the number of units that were garrisoned in the town, including naval forces, strong sports rivalries existed and these invested the community with similar interests.

In almost every sporting activity, representatives of the various army units in garrison, the navy and the town competed. From this developed a sporting rivalry that was unsurpassed in any other community in the colony at this time.

Despite its size, the sports scene in the town of Halifax lacked the zeal and organization that characterized most Canadian urban areas. During the nineteenth century, for example, there were several lengthy periods of time when even cricket assumed a dormant state. The reasons for this are not clear. Horseracing fought an uphill battle for positive recognition throughout the century as well and succeeded only because of the untiring exertions of the Imperial forces stationed in the town. The re-emergence of cricket was owed to the military clubs which challenged their Canadian neighbours. In many local sporting activities, Haligonians were encouraged to participate by the example set by the uniformed representatives of the Crown. While the reasons for this sporting absence are difficult to trace, the role played by the military is quite clear. Whenever local sport needed a boost, regardless of the specific activity, it was provided by the British officers. Unlike Montreal or even Kingston, the town of Halifax showed a direct relation between the emergence and promulgation of sport and the presence and active involvement of the military.

While evidence suggested that the Imperial forces did have a greater social and sporting influence on a small town than a large community, other factors emerged which complicate such a generalization. The soldiers were more important to the development of sport in Kingston than in Montreal, but contrary to what was expected, the troops' influence on the development of organized sport in Halifax eclipsed even Kingston. If the local sports scene lacked organization, the soldiers were quick to provide it. In a community in which sport was emerging through civilian leadership, they merely competed with their neighbours and assisted them whenever possible.

The Garrison Contribution in Retrospect

Despite a level of influence within Canadian sporting society that was steadily declining, the Imperial troops had played a most significant role in the development of organized sport. Even after this decline had commenced the soldiers still provided a unique competitive element that made Canadian sport more attractive. By 1862, the pattern of sport in Halifax was no longer a product of the Imperial forces stationed there. Civilian sports clubs were numerous and the organization of most local events was invested in the officers of these clubs. But the soldier-sportsmen were appreciated nonetheless. When the British Squadron returned from its winter headquarters in Bermuda in May of that year they were greeted with warm recognition. Significant in this appreciation was the realization that the Queen's representatives took ". . . a natural interest in the festivities and recreations" of the town.[11] In earlier years, more was owed to the troops than a mere positive sporting awareness and posture.

Despite pragmatic differences that resulted from the colonial nature of British North America during the nineteenth century, Canada was a "mini Britain." Although political and economical differences did exist, the colonists actively sought to imitate British society and culture within the western possession. In sporting activities particularly the colonists could attach themselves to the values that were distinctly British. Because the colonists were so receptive to the tenets of British society, several cultural characteristics which were British in origin were transplanted within the colonial society. Sport was one of the British exports.

But unlike stores and equipment that were shipped in impersonal holds, these cultural indices of British society were exported to the new world in the minds of men. Settlers not only brought animals and tools with them, they carried expectations for the future. And most of these expectations were derived from those things that represented the finer trappings of life in Great Britain. Among these were respect and freedom bred from self-sufficiency, and a station in life which reflected these things. Recreation had been a mark of success in Great Britain, several sporting activities had become British institutions, and the colonists were determined to copy those pastimes in British North America.

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[11] Nova Scotian, May 19, 1862, p. 2.

After settling the colonial backwoods, the new Canadians endeavoured to rekindle the recreational pastimes of the mother country. The rudiments of play were established but they generally lacked the refinements of the British varieties. Whereas the activities that developed out of colonial labours and needs (such as sleighing, fishing and hunting) required little refinement, those pastimes that had been formalized in Great Britain were originally rough copies when practised in the colony. Not only did the colonists lack the necessary equipment in many cases, they also lacked the technical expertise of play and more importantly, the precise organization which had highlighted sport in the homeland. But then, they were far removed from Great Britain, not only physically but also socially. Their brand of sport suited the undeveloped society in which it resided.

But as the society matured, so did the various features of the society, including sport. As Canadians attempted to mirror British society and culture through sport they looked to recent immigrants from home to bring with them the latest and freshest memories of British

Garrison personnel, coming as they did directly from the homeland, were looked upon to implant that necessary British flavour in local sporting circles. In horseracing for example, the early years demonstrated an overt attempt by Canadian equestrians to emulate the British turf. Garrison officers set the example for others to follow, not only because of the superior mounts which they possessed, but because of the manner in which they organized the race gatherings. The troops encountered a sporting void when they entered the colony. They were immediately invited to remedy the sporting shortcomings and did everything in their power to do so. Their sporting preferences and their successes patterned the type and quality of sport that marked nineteenth century Canada.

That the troops contributed to the establishment and organization of Canadian sport is certain. Questionable however, is the reason for the soldiers' attention to the local society. In part, they attempted to make the colony like home. Sporting experiences could provide a link with past memories of pleasant days among friendly surroundings and acquaintances. The colony was not overtly hostile, especially to the officers, but it was a stark abyss compared to the social climate of home. Furthermore, it was important for the soldiers to immerse themselves in the colony's social milieu. This would ensure that their banishment to the colonial station would be less painful emotionally. If one were to find favour with an important family or an adoring "muffin," one's colonial tenure could even be enjoyable. Lt. Freeling found his colonial posting extremely depressing and only when he met a handsome lady did he renounce his displeasure at being posted to British North America. But Freeling was not an avid sportsman and consequently had little to relieve his innate morbidity.

It is more difficult to determine the precise reasons for the soldiers' overt contributions to the developing sport forms in the colony. Sporting contacts represented some of the first and finest social interactions between the troops and the colonists. From the settlers' perspective, the troops were extremely attractive. Their uniforms added colour to the colonial society, their skills were a pleasure to observe and their organizational expertise was much needed. But did the soldiers care about their contributions to the Canadian sports scene, or were they simply endeavouring to maintain that lifestyle to which they were accustomed? Was there an intended or unconscious expectation on the part of the military to facilitate the development of Canadian sport? Perhaps the troops cared little for the Canadian sporting culture and were merely easing the burden of their colonial posting. In this case, most contributions to Canadian sport would have been merely coincidental!

Clearly, the answer is not as simplistic as this would imply. Many military personnel actively engaged in sport during their stay in the colony and did so for various reasons. Some soldiers, such as Sir Charles Chichester, who completed two tours of duty in North America and eventually died there, intimated that their sporting experiences were intended as personal respites from the dread monotony of a barbarian colonial existence. Since duty was relaxed for an officer of Chichester's stature, colonial sports, despite their primitive nature, were essential if one wished to retain one's senses. Many soldiers approached local sports in a similar way. Although the activities were not up to the English standards, they would suffice. Other soldiers, such as Sir Desmond O'Callaghan, participated in the activities of the colony because they offered a cultural diversion. Rather than criticize the colonial efforts, as was done by Chichester, these soldiers cherished the opportunity to experience "the real Canada." But regardless of their positive outlook, these soldiers offered little to the development of Canadian sport other than a competitive element. One should not, however, dismiss the importance of this competitive element. Because of the troops' presence on the sporting field, Canadian sportsmen were spurred to improve their own skills in order to compete with their military neighbours. As a result of this competitive awareness, the quality of colonial sports improved at a steady pace.

Another indirect contribution was made by soldiers such as Lt. Col. Sir James E. Alexander. Not only did he author manuscripts which lauded the Canadian social setting and publicize the diversity of colonial sport for prospective garrison personnel, but he also ensured that the men under his command would practise these colonial pastimes in order to retain a high level of corps morale and foster amicable relations between the troops and the resident population. When Alexander sponsored regimental games and invited the local inhabitants to watch them, he planted a seed of interest that later culminated in similar sporting exhibitions in the community.

Finally, there were those soldiers who intentionally contributed to the development of colonial sports. Major General Sir James Lindsay was one such officer. During his twenty-five year stay in Canada he supported many events by his mere presence and patronage. At other times he sponsored events by providing trophies and other prizes. Although patronage of this type was often politically motivated, the contribution to the sports of the colony was both significant and intended. Other officers contributed in an intentional manner when they organized the first sports clubs of their kind in the colonial settlements. In Halifax, for example, both the local turf club and the cricket club were originated by garrison personnel who then recruited civilians to manage the continuing club affairs. The leadership provided by these soldiers was instrumental in providing formal, organized structure to the primitive sport forms that Chichester was so quick to criticize.

At the same time, the military institution provided Canadian sportsmen with many of the necessities that ensured a lasting place for sport in the emerging colonial culture. The greatest positive impact provided by the military itself was the provision of actual, or quasi-sporting facilities. Of the first type were the gymnasiums and racquet courts where civilians were generously entertained. Many community racetracks were built and maintained by military fatigue parties. When local turf clubs had neither the financial or technical capabilities required to outfit such facilities, the military quickly offered their support. Quasi-sporting facilities were equally instrumental in the formation of community sports. Military land reserves, and naval cantonments provided sports facilities for both spectators and competitors including soldiers and civilians alike. Most cricket pitches in the colony were located on military land. With rare exceptions, the colonial sportsmen were welcome patrons on the British properties.

Despite general relations which fluctuated between those that were cordial and those that were strained, the Imperial regulars and the colonists whom they were to protect co-existed harmoniously. The civilians made the soldiers' lives more pleasant through fraternization and the soldiers provided security and some economic benefit. But the marriage between the two was cemented with social interaction, and sporting contacts were the most visible and congenial of all. As colonial sport became more organized, competition was expanded, but the competition was forever friendly. Rarely did disputes erupt between soldier and civilian on the field of sport. Conversely, sporting competition between the two had a pacifying effect, and garrison-community relations were solidified as a result.

Whereas the individual soldiers and seamen perceived sport as somewhat of a cathartic expression and release from boredom, the War Office identified more pragmatic uses for recreational activities. Following the introduction of social reforms in the military during the

1830s, the lot of the Imperial regular was improved significantly. Whereas the troops were to be kept busy with incessant drill and working parties prior to these reforms, the army and navy decided to employ the troops in more profitable leisure. Thus, sports and regimental games were sponsored, first by a few liberal-minded commanders and later by the War Office itself. As the philosophy gained positive recognition, the Horse Guards cut orders that stipulated that sports activities be included as a formal aspect of garrison duty. Further sport specific regulations followed. Facilities, equipment and strict orders were embodied for sports and games. As a result, the garrison communities witnessed an increasing sporting awareness among the military ranks and in turn, patterned their sport largely after the military example. The sports leadership provided by the garrison was a natural product of the interest shown by the organized army institution.

Once the military sportsmen showed such an avowed interest, civilians joined their uniformed comrades in the organization of varied sporting events. Soon, the townspeople realized the need to accommodate their sporting interests and organized, often with military assistance, the municipal sports clubs which characterized Canadian sport from the mid-1830s onward. During the next twenty years Canadian sport emerged from the primitive state that had marked its formative colonial years and assumed a certain self-sufficiency that automatically accompanied organization. It has been noted previously that garrison personnel were rare among the memberships of colonial sports clubs, owing to the existence of parallel military associations. But neither were the fortunes of local sport as dependent on the soldiers as they had been in previous years. As the membership rolls of community sports clubs grew, the troops became decreasingly integral to the success of the sports. By the mid-fifties, the troops were little more than rival competitors for the flourishing civilian clubs.

But the interaction of the troops and the colonists on the sporting field was an important feature of society in nineteenth century British North America. Because of it, sport became a dominant aspect of the emerging Canadian culture, the strength and diversity of which is owed partly to the troops. Their expertise contributed to the development of organized sport in the colony and despite a level of influence that generally eroded in the face of civilian involvement, the Imperial forces remained as formidable sporting adversaries. Although their motives were sometimes questionable, the Queen's representatives were instrumental in laying the cornerstone of Canadian sport in the nineteenth century.

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APPENDIX 1

SAMPLES OF MILITARY DIARIES

Prior to conducting the research for this study, it was determined that the most valuable information pertinent to the contribution of the Imperial forces to the development of Canadian sport would be discerned from the writings of the soldiers themselves. It was felt that the opinions and reflections of the garrison personnel themselves would illuminate their colonial experience, especially in a social context, particularly with respect to their sporting aspirations and experiences. For this reason, the diaries of the Imperial regulars who garrisoned British North America during the period under study were examined, and ultimately provided a valuable source of information.

While most of these diaries documented military duties and strategical movements associated with battlefield conflicts, some recorded the 'everyday' experiences of the troops while in garrison communities throughout the colony. Among these were accounts of numerous sporting outings and recreational amusements. Often, these accounts were embellished with the opinions of the diarist and these provided a vivid portrait of garrison life. The diaries aptly demonstrated the excitement and the tedium of garrison life in nineteenth century Canada, and more importantly with reference to the present study, illustrate the presence of sport in the soldier's life.

A. The Diary of Lt. John Talbot Coke

The sixty-two page diary of Lt. Coke was recorded at Montreal in 1866 while this officer was stationed there as a member of the 16th Regiment of Foot. The diary records Coke's experiences between January 1 and June 3, when he was ordered to Prescott and Cornwall in response to the Fenian invasion of Canada. Surprisingly, the diary illustrates a veritable life of leisure. The following are samples of a couple weeks in the life of this officer while in garrison in Montreal:

January 1, Monday: Thermometer at 40^{o} - mild weather for the beginning of a Canadian Year. When I got up I found three letters on my looking glass, one from C & Father & Mother. C's was indeed short for a New Year's gift, but the two letters after speaking so kindly of her had indeed bad news. Gertrude has married young Middleburgh without their leave and whilst she was staying with them. I could hardly believe it. I pity her much. It is indeed sad to think what grief she has caused at home, where she's had every indulgence & has been so ungrateful. I don't know what will become of her. It has quite upset me. I drove out with Gibbons to make New Year's calls as I had agreed, it is a queer custom calling on every one on this day. My mare ran away with the empty sleigh for about 1½ down Sherbrooke St. but evidently hit nothing & did not hurt herself. At a Concert in the Crystal Palace at night. The Mess full till 4 o'c in morning, but I sneaked off to bed.

January 2, Tuesday: Thermometer 15^{o} - Marching out Parade at 10.30 in Red Tunics. It is hard work turning out in different dress like this. Today dressed the same as I have had to in Ceylon, with a difference of 100^{o}

temperature. A funeral parade in afternoon to bury Pte Wharton of T Co. took up most of my time. Then did some shopping & got the locket for C. The Band at the Rink at which nearly all of us were at. Very crowded & no skating, but danced a Quadrille which I did not manage very cleverly.

January 3, Wednesday: Went to Notman's at 1 o'clock to be photographed had some done in Winter Clothing & one for the locket for C. Drove tandem in my sleigh, getting a horse from Alloway for Leader. Riscon went with me, went round the mountain. Thermom. 12°. The first time I have ever driven Tandem but got on well enough without any mishap. Went after to the Rink & skated till 6.

January 4, Thursday: Intended driving Tandem, but came on to snow at 12 & so did not go as rather miserable work. Thermom. 22°. Went to the Rink after 3 & skated till 6. Garrison Theatricals in eve'g. But I was only there for the last piece. Stayed however through the dance, which I did not enjoy very much. Not in bed till 3.

January 5, Friday: On duty. Thermom. 25° below zero, a difference of 47° to yesterday. I did not know what it was when I went down to Barracks & did not find it at all cold. Standing by the River looking at the Ice & the sun rising for some time as I came back, however going down to Barracks later without ear flaps taught me a lesson for I got both ears frost bitten. They pain a good deal in coming round. Wrote a long letter to C and one to Father but had not time to write to Mother.

January 6, Saturday: Thermometer 28° below zero. Walked after unit inspection on the River with Trim, we were the first who have been out on ice opposite this. Walked with Tears, Gibbon & Trim in the afternoon along the River Bank beyond Hochelaga where we crossed on the Ice Bridge to __________. The Ice is very pretty shoved up in fantastic forms sometimes 12 or 15 ft. high, with large holes close to the Bridge, the river bubbling and steaming. Got my nose slightly frost bitten for the first time. Came back a good pace. The River is over 1½ mile wide where we crossed.

January 7, Sunday: Very cold in Bed & when I got up found Water & Sponges hard frozen. The Thermometer being 29° in my Room with the Stove. 26° below zero outside. Church with Men & precious cold during service. Found the letter when got back, three pages from C & the promised locket. One from home & from Aunt & Julia Salvison [sic]. Wrote part of a letter to C not going out. Every thing frozen in the Mess, Mustard, Pickles, etc., but it is better than being too hot —

January 8, Monday: Thermometer 16° below zero. Drove round the Mountain taking Gibbon with me. back by 4.30 & sat in my room writing to C.

January 9, Tuesday: Drove Tandem in the afternoon round both Mountains, Trim coming with me. Alloway's Mare as Leader. A beautiful day, 5° below zero, but drove all the way without gloves as I cannot hold them with them on. Marched out in the snow beyond Hochelaga, very hot with Winter Coat on. Guest with O's in the Evening as our Kitchen Range is out of order - Back befor 11. Went out to a dance at the Allan's, but I do not care for those now.

January 10, Wednesday: Thermometer 5° above zero. Beautiful sunny day. Drove to Mountains at 11 & had the Mare in the Photograph - At 1 drove Tandem to the Champs de Mars taking Trim with me for the Garrison sleigh drive. 19 Sleighs out. A very pretty sight to see them all. The Colonel led with four-in-hand. Went through the town to Lachine by the Upper Road. Very little snow & dreary in consequence. But had a delightful drive. Had luncheon at the Wharves Hotel & after about 3/4 hours drove home. A good number of ladies out. I got on well enough for my third time with Tandem, but drove rather to grief getting out of the Champs-de-Mars. both Mares pull tremendously.

January 11, Thursday: Thermom. 25°. drove to the Rink with Trim at 2 & skated till after 5. Dinner at 6 in consequence of the Garrison Theatricals. After dinner wrote a letter to Mother till 10 when I went to the Theatre & saw the last act of Still Waters & remained for the dance. Very crowded - in bed about 2.

January 12, Friday: Thermom. 22°. - Got the locket from Notman's yesterday Even'g, and like it very much, he has colored it very nicely. Wrote, or rather finished my letter to C & sent the locket & photographs. Posted them myself at 4.30 & had over an hour's skating at the Rink. The Mayor & a lot of Civilians dining with us & did not get to bed till after 1. Played Whist. About an inch of snow fell last night which will make the roads rather better, but more is wanted.

January 13, Saturday: Thermom. 20°. - About 6 Inches of Snow fell during the night & day and the roads consequently very heavy. Slept in Bks as usual all morn'g, a most useless

& uninteresting thing. Got to the Rink by 2.30 and skated till near 6 - I am getting on however very slowly. it is hard to get beyond a certain point. The mail is not yet in as it was to be detained 5 days in Ireland for repairs.

January 14, Sunday: Thermom. 12° below Zero. Much wind and very cold. Church with the men. Started at 1 with Tears, Harrowes & Gibbon crossed the River & Snow-Shoed to Longueil. Snow in some places very deep & unable to walk over stone walls. went right across country all the way. 2 out of the 4 frost bitten through the ear flaps. Had some Beer at the Inn and came back across Hochelaga, I ran all the way over the Ice Bridge about 2 miles and beat Tears & Them by over ½ mile & was very hot after it. The best run I have had for a long time. The first time I have been on Snow Shoes but got on well enough & only had a few falls. I like it immeasureably.

Throughout the remainder of the month of January, February, March and April, Coke spent most of his time skating, sleighing, tobogganing, dancing, gambling at whist and attending the theatre. On the average, only three or four days were spent on duty every month. With rare exception, the preceding extract provides a sample of Coke's diary and gives an accurate account of garrison life for Imperial officers while stationed in Canada.

B. The Diary of Lt. Arthur Henry Freeling

Sir Arthur Henry Freeling (1820-1882) was a career officer in the Royal Engineers. He rose to the rank of Major-General before his retirement in 1877. In 1839, while a first lieutenant, Freeling was posted to Canada where he served as Adjutant to Colonel W. C. E. Holloway, when he was recalled to England. While the diary is not overflowing with sporting abstracts, it nevertheless contains interesting glimpses into the social life of Montreal, Toronto and Kingston in the early 1840s.

The following are samples of Freeling's diary records:

May, 1843:
1st - left Toronto in Steamer for Kingston.
2nd - arrived early in morn'g at Kingston.
3rd - Col. Oldfield and White came from Montreal.
4th - dined at Sampsons.
6th - Col. Oldfield left at 9a.m. for Montreal and England. Col. Holloway, R.E. relieving him.
8th - Snipe shooting - Shot 1 Bird.
19th - Sir C. Bagot, Governor- Gen. of Canada died at Kingston after a very long & painful illness.
23rd - Rev. B. cartwright died.
31st - Charity Bazaar to pay for the Church organ.

June, 1843
2nd - Airey left Kingston for Quebec & England. Henderson & myself very sorry to lose so good a companion & so gentlemanlike a person. The Corner House (Sampsons) also much regretting his departure from them, in whose family he was as intimate as a brother -
4th, 5th, 6th - Barron from Toronto stayed with me.
7th - Dined at Gov'r House, Sir C. Metcalfe, sat with Archy Campbell, Capt. Brownrigge (Aides) & Henderson, pleasant dinner party & no stiffness.
12th - Mrs Maitland left Kingston to join her husband at Quebec, previous to embarkation for England. Dr. Sampson & Hannah going to Quebec with her.
17th - Col. Holloway, C.R.E. came up to inspect Kingston.
19th - left for Toronto.
20th - H. Sampson returned with the Dr. from Quebec. Ball at Gov'r House. Hot & stupid.
21st - Stafford Kirkpatrick gave picnic at Hatwood. Dr. Robinson & wife, Sampson's and ourselves.
24th - Col. Holloway & Ward returned from Toronto & Niagara. dined with Ward.
26th - Col. Holloway left via Rideau.
27th - Picnic at Hatwood.
30th - Dined with Willoughby & Cricket after 1 Innings, 2 runs, bowled 3 wickets down.

July, 1843

5th - Cricket, 1st Innings 1, 2'd' 12 runs & not out.

6th - Cricket, --- -- -- 3, --- 17 d' -- -- --

7th - Radcliffe of the Art'y came from Montreal on leave, a good deal smitten with H. Sampson.

9th - Dinner at Sampson's.

11th - Woodcock shooting with Henderson & Radcliffe, out at 4 oclock a.m. saw a few birds but killed none. Henderson 1 & Radcliffe 1. home by 10 a.m.

13th - dined with Sam Robinson.

15th - Col. Ward received a letter from Col. Holloway offerring (sic) me his Adjutancy at Montreal. Col. Ward's Adjutant discontinued. wrote a letter to the C.R.E. after some consideration accepting the same. Col. W. recommending me not to refuse.

17th - Henderson, Radcliffe, J. Kirkpatrick & myself started to Sam Knapps on Loughboro Lake to fish. Off at 10. wet morning - packed in a Waggon without springs to go 16 miles. Half way house lunch produced, raining bitterly - arrived at Stephen Akroyd's on Lake. Boat with thole-pin broken, mended it with some trouble - Wind in our favour - made mast and 2 yards and lashed my Mackintosh therein for a sail - answered capitally - boat loaded with guns provisions & etc. to the gunnel. Soho sauce broken and sundry bottles of punch & ale. sailed 8 miles and rowed 1 to Sam Knapps, arrived about 7 p.m. Fishing for bass in two boats - Henderson and Radcliffe in one, J. Kirkpatrick & self in another, no fish this Eve'g. Tea & cigars. bed & musquitoes.

18th - Up early. our boat caught some 14 bass. other boat 3. Breakfast. Then by boat up to head of Lake to shoot deer. Landed. placed in run-way, wait for an hour, horribly assailed by musquitoes & nearly driven mad by them. Deer started & ran by Henderson who forgot to shoot at it, rushed to boat to catch deer in Lake, but could not see any symptons of it. returned and tried another run-way, 2 hours or more waiting, Musquitoes worse than ever & no Deer - rowed home. Dinner. Liquor getting scarce, and divided as equally as possible. hiding the horse for first choice bathe delicious before dinner.

19th - Up betimes, and the Liquor finished. determined to return. caught 9 fish on our way home. other boat caught 12. a gaudy and large fly the best thing for bass. At Akroyd's at 11a.m. At Kingston at 2 p.m.

21st - Picnic at Hatwood for the last time Sampsons & Robinsons.

Excerpt From the Diary of

Lt. John Talbot Coke

February [5 to 7] Montreal. [2d Month] **1866**

5 MONDAY [36-329] Thermometer 11° below Zero. The American Mail was in the morning, but the letters were not given out till 1.30 & I had the pleasure of seeing two from C just as I had to post mine written this morning. The 1st of them was too late owing to the snow at home & in the other she is unhappy at not getting one from me for a fortnight. I am very sorry for it but I have just been the same time without one from her. Walked about in the afternoon to see if I could pick up a leader anywhere for the Sleigh Drive but failed. The Fancy Dress Ball at the Theatre, went at 9.30 & not back till 7.30. [illegible] at it & the prettiest sight I have ever seen. Everyone in fancy Dress & no uniforms allowed. I went in Hunting Dress. The Dancing was over at 4 but the supper went on till near 8. a.m.

6 TUESDAY [37-328] Rather noisy affair, but I remained with the majority.

Turned in at ¼ to 8 & slept till 10.30. Got dressed in plain clothes when I got up being absent from the Snow Shoeing parade which was ordered but did not come off being too cold. Thermometer 6° below Zero. Went up to the Rink at 1 & skated till 5. Called on the Yankees (Capt Cross & Townshend) on the way home. Went at 9.30 to the Allans Ball & remained till 2.15. A capital dance & very good House, very fresh considering the little sleep I have had.

7 WEDNESDAY [38-327]

[illegible]

not come off being too cold. Thermometer 6° below Zero. Went up to the

7 WEDNESDAY [38–327]

Thermom. 3° below Zero. The Tandem Sleigh drive did not meet in consequence of the snow. Went Toboganing with Tim. My first day at it. I think it glorious fun. Got a tremendous lot of spills not being up to it & came back much bruised. We found one splendid place, nearly precipitous for about 30 ft & a run of about 400 yds. I tried it 6 times & only got down safely twice. None of the Canadian lads who were there would go down it. Got my ear rather badly frostbitten & came back a mass of [illegible].

February [19 to 21] Montreal. [2d Month] 1866

19 MONDAY [50 315] Thermom. 40°. On duty. The streets in a terrible state of slush from the thaw. Skated on the [illegible] Rink for ½ hour & then went to skate on the River, but the Ice was so bad that I had to leave it. Dull cloudy day. Turned colder at dark & a little snow.

Slush from the thaw. Skated on the Men's Rink for ½ hour & then went to skate on the River, but the Ice was so bad that I had to leave it. Dull cloudy day. Turned colder at dark & a little snow.

20 TUESDAY [51-314]

hermom. 20°. Drove Tandem round the Mountain. Christian ming with me. Had a dark mare of Norton's, my other being sold. so this not know that she had ever been driven before but she went capitally & I liked her if anything better than the others. Had a snap of a lot of us taken in tobogganing dress on the Champs-de-Mars. Drove out 3 & a round after the Rink & skated till 6. I have not had any practice for a long time & want to get more.

21 WEDNESDAY [52-313] †

ndy day. Drove up to the Whiteheads at 12.30 & took the Ellens out for the Junior Sleigh ve. Met at Phillips Square. Drove Tandem. Beautiful sleighing went along the Lachine nal for about 1½ miles & turned back as we had to go to a tobogganing party at the Cellam ch this at 3 & drove after to Breaufo's hill. Very hard & hardly safe for ladies as we went a tremendous pace. I got very much bruised but enjoyed the day very much. So sore that I ld hardly sit down for Mess.

- courtesy of Old Fort Henry Library

† 21 Ember Day. 23 Ember Day. 24 St. Matthias. Ember Day.

January (continued.)

13th Menzies started for Kingston..

16th Evening party at Mrs Geddes's where I lost my Cloak.

21st Narrow Escape – Sleigh upset coming down the Mountain horse ran away – kept hold of reins & was dragged about ¾ of a Mile down the hill by them – at last stopped horse. no damage with the Exception of springing shaft –

February –

14th Started with Paynter – Lyons & Wodehouse in Paynter's sleigh & 2 hack horses for Ball given at St Johns by 71st Regt. set out at 1 & got in at 5; uncomfortable dinner at Motts – pleasant Ball some Yankee Officers & Ladies there, the latter rather pretty & lady-like – slept on sofa at Motts without taking off my Clothes –

15th High wind & very Slippery – started from St Johns at 12 & went to Montreal by L'Acadie. Sleigh slewed & upset (myself driving) no damage; Wodehouse drove against a boulder & broke runner got into La Prairie in a Canadian Train, bitterly cold – Sleigh mended by Lyons – arrived in Montreal at ¼ past 6.

16th Dined with Commissary General Routh – capital Dinner &c. –

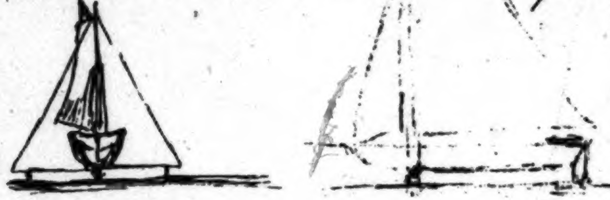
24th White ordered to Quebec to arrange the Drawingroom

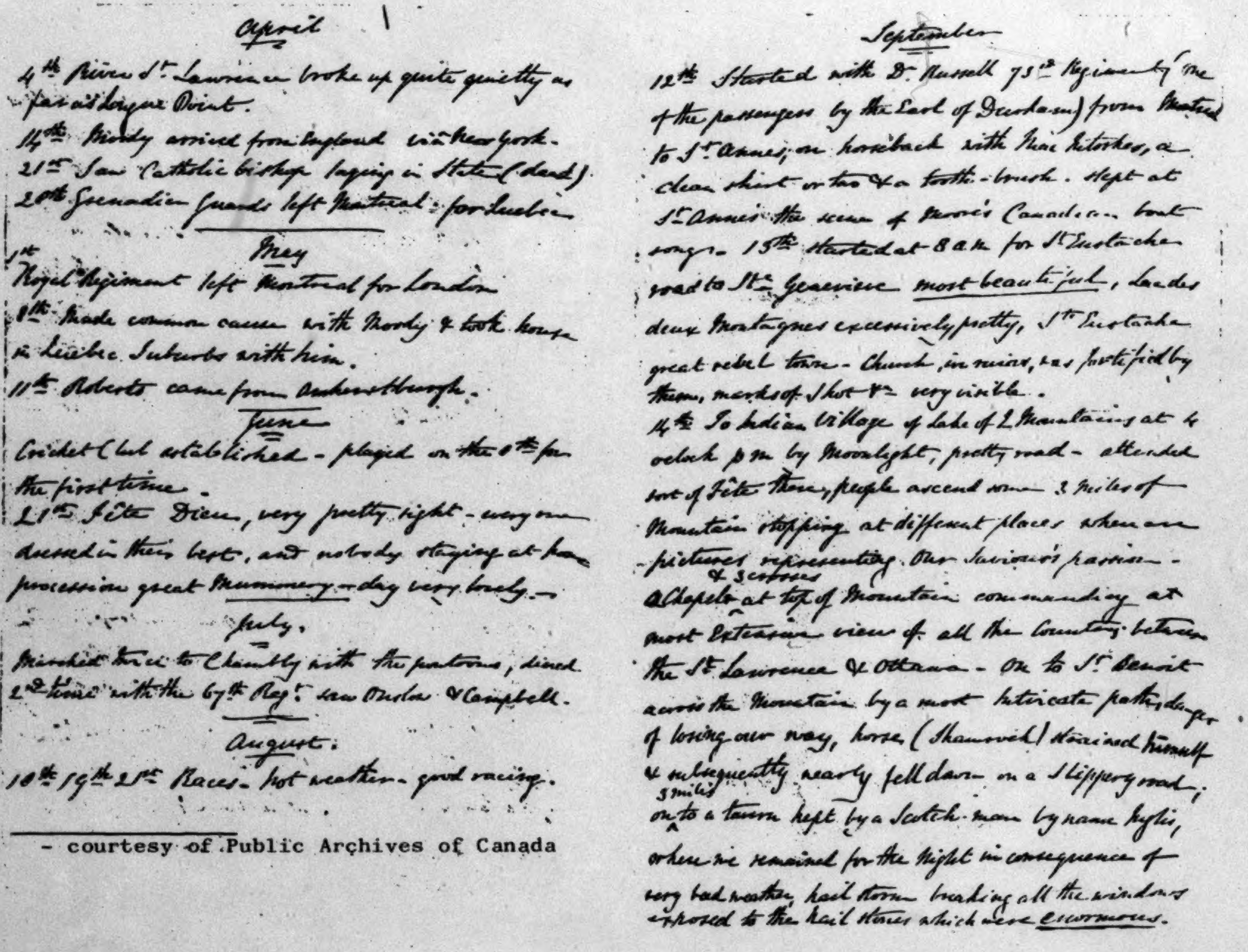
26th Evening Party at the Governor General's. –

March.

3rd Saw Whitelaw (Surgeon of the R.A.) perform at Theatre, best Amateur comic performer I have seen.

4th Ordered & went to Bout de l'Isle (of Montreal) to report on & reconnoitre the Isle St Therese, distance 15 Miles from Montreal – rode there, put up at Deschamps Inn – 5th Continued reconnaisance – 2 trains got into the Ice at 8 o'clock p.m. · no one drowned – 6th rode back to Montreal – 3rd train got into the Ice as I was on the point of starting. 9th Mr Cahusac formerly a music master of some note & known to my grandfather, died this day after a very short illness. 14th Picnic at Pavilion on Lower La Chine road – drove out in Sleighs at 4 o'clock, has sort of dinner, cleared things away & danced until near 10 drove home by moonlight a most lovely Night. 24th Went out for a short sail in Lyon's Ice Boat





April

4th River St. Lawrence broke up quite quietly as far as Longue Point.

14th Moody arrived from England via New York.

21st Saw Catholic bishop laying in State (dead)

20th Grenadier Guards left Montreal for Quebec

May

1st Royal Regiment left Montreal for London

8th Made common cause with Moody & took house in Quebec Suburbs with him.

11th Roberts came from Amherstburgh.

June

Cricket Club established - played on the 8th for the first time.

21st Fête Dieu, very pretty sight - every one dressed in their best, and nobody staying at home procession great Mummery - day very lovely.

July.

Marched twice to Chambly with the pontoons, dined 2d time with the 67th Regt. saw Onslow & Campbell.

August.

10th 19th 21st Races - hot weather - good racing.

September

12th Started with Dr. Russell 73rd Regiment (one of the passengers by the Earl of Durham) from Montreal to St. Anne's, on horseback with Mac Kintoshes, a clean shirt or two & a tooth-brush. Slept at St. Anne's the scene of Moore's Canadian boat songs. 15th Started at 8 a.m. for St. Eustache road to Ste. Genevieve most beautiful, Lac des deux Montagnes excessively pretty, St. Eustache great rebel town - Church, in ruins, was fortified by them, marks of shot &c very visible.

14th To Indian Village of Lake of 2 Mountains at 4 oclock p.m. by Moonlight, pretty road - attended sort of Fête there, people ascend some 3 miles of Mountain stopping at different places where are pictures representing Our Saviour's passion - & sculptures & Chapels at top of Mountain commanding a most Extensive view of all the Country between the St. Lawrence & Ottawa - On to St. Benoit across the Mountain by a most intricate path, danger of losing our way, horse (Shamrock) strained himself & subsequently nearly fell down on a slippery road; on 3 miles to a tavern kept by a Scotch-man by name Inglis, where we remained for the night in consequence of very bad weather, hail storm breaking all the windows exposed to the hail stones which were enormous.

- courtesy of Public Archives of Canada

APPENDIX 2

BARRACK AND HOSPITAL STORES
including those required for
MILITARY PRISONS,
GARDEN TOOLS,
EQUITATION ARTICLES
and Stores for
GYMNASIA AND RECREATION ROOMS.
(1870)

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLE	Contract Rate			
	per		s.	d.
BARRACK, HOSPITAL, AND MILITARY PRISON STORES				
Adzes, cooper's, handled -metal, magazine- -notching - - - -	(see tools)			
Anvils, portable, forge, 56lbs. - - - -	(see forge)			
Appliances, bedstead, McDonald's	each	1	10	0
Aprons - - basil. brown, shoemaker's	"		3	0
Aprons - - canvas, cook's - - - - - -	"		1	6
Aprons - - fencing, leather - - - -	(see pads, body, apron)			
Arms, wood, for military stands -5 feet	"		1	10
Arms, wood, for military stands -2'6"	"		1	6
Awls, handled, brad, shoemaker's - -	doz.		1	5
Axes, helved -felling, 4½lbs., Canada pattern	(see camp)			
Axes, helved -fire brigade - - - - -	(see miscellaneous)			
Axes, helved -pick, 6½lbs. - - - - - -	- - - - (see tools)			
Axles, stable, barrow - - - - - - - - -	each		3	0
Backgammon men - - -in box - - - - - -	set		2	6
Backgammon men - - -spare - - - - - -	each			1

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLE	Contract Rate			
	per		s.	d.
bedding, HP (3sets) - - - -	each		3	0
-canvas, sand - - - - - - - -	(see tools-entrenching)			
Bags - -clothes (MP) - - - - -	each		4	6
-pudding (MP) - - - - -	"			4
-leather, letter - - - - -	(see	miscellaneous)		
-bagatelle -a set, complete-9	set	1	11	6
-spare(white,colour)			3	6
-four corner - - - - - - - -	each		18	0
Balls - -racket - - - - - - - - - -	gross		15	0
-skittle - - - - - - - - -	each		15	0
-solitaire, 33 to a set -	doz.			2½
-wood, covered with leather	each	1	1	0
Bands, India rubber, bed-head - - -	doz.			10
Barrels, rifle, B. L. Snider - - -	(see	arms)		
-hand (see tools, entrenching)				
Barrows - -turf - - - - - - - - - -	each	2	19	6
-wheel, stable, complete	"	1	4	1
Bars - -crow, fire engine - - - -	(see	miscellaneous)		
-leaping, military stands	"		18	0
Basins -earthenware-recreation room	"			3¼
-iron-enamelled (washing)	"		1	0
-zinc-9" hospital canteen	"			10½
Baskets -bread, military prisons -	"		4	9
-flour, lined with tin - -	"		5	9
-mess, with poles - - - -	"	1	3	6
Bats, racket - - - - - - - - - - - -	"		10	0
Bellows -barrack and hospital - -	"		2	0
-hospital or kitchen, large	"		2	6
Bells, dumb, iron, covered with leather - bar, long, double-handed	60lb		7	0
	50lb		6	1
	40lb		5	2
	35lb		4	8½
	34lb		4	7¼
	30lb		4	3
- short, or single-handed	50lb		12	6

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLE	Contract Rate per		s.	d.
	40lb		10	8
	30lb		9	0
	28lb		8	7
	26lb		8	3
	/			
	12lb		5	7
	10lb		5	3
Belts -& gloves, for restraning	set	1	10	0
-gymnasium -large				
-medium	(supplied as clothing)			
-small				
Biers -hospital, with folding legs	each	4	4	0
Blades -awl, shoemaker's - - - - -	doz.			4
-spare, machine, chaff - -	each		2	6
Blankets -grey, general service -	"		6	0
-white, barrack - - - - -	"		7	1
-bed-head ticket - - - - -	"			6¼
-chess - - - - - - - - - - -	"		2	3
Boards --cutting, shoemaker's - -	"		3	0
-diet scale - - - - - - -	"			3½
-draught & backgammon - -	"		4	3
-musketry drill, black, 6x4	"		19	0
-solitaire - - - - - - - -	"		2	3
Bolsters, hair -barrack - - - - - -	"		3	6
-gent.-cadets - - -	"		7	0
-hospital - - - - -	"		5	0
-brush, housemaids - - - - -	"		3	8
-cast iron, coal - - - - - -	"		17	4
-dice - - - - - - - - - - -	"			7
Boxes -pewter, shaving MP - - - -	"		1	6
-wood -backgammon men, spare	"		1	0
-chessmen, spare	"		1	3
-cigar, with glass lids	"		10	0
-dominoe	"		1	3
-draughtsmen	"		1	0
-for models, musketry	"		3	0
-keys, MP	"		13	0
-soap, military prisons	"		1	3
-solitaire, spare	"			9

APPENDIX 3

TYPICAL MILITARY GAMES

On Saturday, September 18, 1841, Lt. Col. Sir James E. Alexander and the officers of the Kingston garrison held a trial of manly exercises among the men for ". . . the promotion of British spirit." The Chronicle and Gazette reported that the events were staged in the green field enclosed by the palisades and earthen parapets of Fort Henry. Gymnastic poles, leaping and vaulting bars, tilting posts and other sundry pieces of apparatus had been erected in front of the palisades. Nearly all of the troops in garrison attended the event and the distinguishing red and blue uniforms of the cavalry, artillery and infantry presented a colourful spectacle.

The entire day was marked by unusual sobriety. Contrary to the normal military practice, no liquor was contested for. Rather, each competitor received a coupon for a pint of beer. As a result, the men competed for various utilitarian prizes, including woollen shirts, socks and handkerchiefs without quarrelling or drunkenness. The day's amusement, sponsored by the officers of the United Services of Kingston, was a complete success.

The following organizational list of the day's activities should provide an accurate sample of a typical military athletic meeting:

Committee of Management: Sir James E. Alexander, 14th Reg't
Hon. H. Lindsay, 43rd L. Inf'y
Lt. R. W. Rowan, 14th Reg't

Judges: Colour Sgt. Pakeman, 14th L. C.
Colour Sgt. Burke, 43rd L. Inf'y
Pay Sgt. Ryan, 14th Grenadiers

Events (for enlisted personnel only):

1) high leaping.
2) long leaping.
3) vaulting.
4) climbing ladder with hands only.
5) horizontal pole turning.
6) 600 yard footrace.
7) ¼ mile race.
8) tilting at the ring with a lance mounted.
9) wrestling.
10) sparring - bayonet versus lance.
11) single sticks.
12) boxing.
13) shot throwing.
14) blind wheelbarrow race.
15) sock race.
16) Irish Jig dancing.

APPENDIX 4

SAMPLE ARMY MEDICAL REPORT
(Canadian Stations)

ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

STATISTICAL,

SANITARY, AND MEDICAL

REPORTS

for the year

1862

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS,

FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1864

SANITARY REPORT FOR 1862

CANADA

The Inspector-General of Hospitals, Dr. Muir, C.B., in his Sanitary Report to the end of the year, states that the forces throughout the Command had been well housed, fed, and clothed; and that there was nothing in the nature or amount of their duties which acted injuriously to their health. . . .

The per-centage of sick to well for the year reached only about one-half of that which is usual on home stations, a result very confirmatory of the advantageous sanitary conditions secured for the troops.

The admissions to hospital are reported to have been caused chiefly by venereal and drunkenness, or the consequences of the latter. In reference to the former, and its prevalence at Quebec, Mr. Gilborne, Surgeon of the Royal Artillery stationed there, observes in his report that the disease is found to be more prevalent during the summer months, a circumstance attributable to its importation by sailors on the opening of navigation; and, as a measure towards prevention of its diffusion from this source, he proposes that the crews of vessels should be examined by the Health Officer before being allowed to land, - a good sanitary law, and one as well worthy of legislative authority as any in a code of quarantine.

The Inspector-General had strongly impressed on the notice of the authorities the necessity for the establishment of Lock Hospitals, and for the extension of Soldiers' Institutes to all the stations, together with more ample means of recreation, especially for the winter season; also that for this last purpose covered ball courts and skating rinks should be provided.

Could a question remain as to the policy of gymnastic training, and systematic practice of physical exercise in this way, for the effectiveness of the army, it might now well be settled by the adoption of a system of applied gymnastics in every corps, and so as to turn the latent physical force of every soldier to the good account of the service at large. Mr. Bowen, Surgeon of the 1st Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, stationed this year at Hamilton, Canada West, represents in his report on the subject that all the men had passed through a course of these exercises twice or three times during the year, a special building having been available for the object. This was done, he states, in systematic manner and, in his opinion, conduced much to the health of the men and their muscular development, the latter being proved by careful measurements. Many of the soldiers became very proficient in the practice.

The Inspector-General represents that the regulated cubic space per man in barrack accommodation as well as in the hospitals, the bath and ablution rooms, the drainage, the means for varied cooking, and the other general sanitary arrangements, were all carefully attended to throughout the Command, and, wherever found deficient, were improved, extended, or made good whensoever suggestions to such effect were submitted to the military authorities. . . .

A very important health question was entertained in the suggestion of Dr. Muir to the military authorities as to whether the camping of the troops in the summer season might not be carried out to a greater extent, consistently with the garrison duties which fall to be performed.

Pointed allusion is made to the annually recurring deaths by drowning (14 during the year under review), these calling for grave consideration with a view to devising more efficient means of preventing such deplorable losses. With reference to this observation of the Inspector-General, Sir Fenwick Williams, Bart., K.C.B., the Lieutenant-General Commanding, has remarked that the subject had not failed to occupy his own attention and that he had issued a general order again calling upon General Officers commanding districts, and Officers commanding at the different stations, to give their earnest co-operation in issuing and enforcing such orders as might be calculated to lessen the number of these casualties. He observes, upon this subject of drowning, that, notwithstanding every precaution is taken which forethought can suggest and that a good surveillance can effect, a greater number of deaths than takes place from this cause elsewhere must be expected, from the fact of the rivers and water-courses of the country being very numerous, exceedingly rapid, and dangerous.

KINGSTON

Kingston is garrisoned by a Regiment of the Line, a Battery of Artillery, and detachments of the Royal Canadian Rifles.

It contains about 20,000 inhabitants. Towards the east is a tract of low marshy land in connection with the Cataraqui River, which is supposed at certain seasons to be the source of intermittent fever, from which the troops located in the Tete du Pont Barracks in that neighbourhood suffered severely in 1847-8; but, on the whole, the town may be considered healthy.

Barracks

The Tete du Pont Barracks, occupied by the Head Quarters, and six Companies of the 62nd Regiment, consists of five buildings of two stories each, three being of stone and two of wood. They are built close to the lake (the city, on its north-eastern side), in shape of an irregular quadrangle, and elevated only a few feet above the level of the lake. They enclose an area of about an acre, which is used as a parade ground. They are not encroached upon by the houses of the town, but are open and exposed to free ventilation. Their regulated accommodation is set down at 442, which allows a cubic space of 600 feet (nearly) per man, and has not been exceeded to any injurious extent. . . .

The drainage is in a satisfactory state, one drain only excepted, which is being repaired. There is an ample supply of baths and lavatories for the use of the men, bathing parades in summer not being practicable. . . .

Here, as elsewhere, there is a want of out-door amusement for the men — a fives-court and cricket being the only means available.

One of the rooms in the barracks is given up as a library for the use of the men of the regiment, and the canteen is well ventilated, and kept under proper surveillance. . . .

MONTREAL

The commercial capital of Canada is garrisoned by four Regiments of the Line, three Batteries of Royal Artillery, one Company Royal Engineers, and one Battalion Military Train.

The city lies at the south side of the Island of Montreal (formed by the junction of the Rivers Ottawa and St. Lawrence), and contains a population of over 100,000 inhabitants. . . .

The only Government Barracks are the "Quebec" and "Royal Artillery."

When the garrison was largely reinforced in the beginning of the year, it was found necessary to provide barrack and hospital accommodation for three extra batteries, Military Train, &c., for which buildings were hired, and huts erected for the Military Train. . . .

In the ablution and bath rooms there are four plunge baths, in addition to the ordinary equipment, and they are abundantly supplied with town water. The latrines are good, with ample means for flushing; one of the two turrets projecting from the flat roof of the building is used as a library and reading-room [Molson's College].

On the score of amusements for the men, none are provided beyond those engaged by the garrison generally, to which allusion will be made by-and-bye. . . .

Amusements

Besides the ordinary games of cricket, ball, &c., in the summer season, and skating and snow-shoeing in the winter, to say nothing of regimental libraries provided for the soldiers at their own, their officers', or Government expense, an excellent Institution has during the past year, established in this town by the good offices and voluntary subscriptions of several of the leading merchants, aided by those of the officers of the garrison.

The building, which is in a central situation, is large and comfortably furnished, and contains, besides the garrison library amalgamated with it, a reading-room well supplied with books, periodicals, and newspapers, billiard and bagatelle-tables, &c.

In the basement court-yard, adjoining are a carpenter's shop, two skittle-alleys, jumping-bars, and skating-ground, and the charge is 3d. per month to a private soldier. Beer, coffee, and other refreshments (always excepting spirits), are provided on the premises at the wholesale price.

The Institution, I understand, is now nearly self-supporting, from the large number of soldiers (1,800 to 2,000) who contribute to it, and has already branch establishments in connection with it. . . .

Canteens

In the canteens the beer sold is of excellent quality, and moderate in price. These establishments, generally, are under good surveillance, and well managed, there being separate accommodation provided for the non-commissioned officers at most of them; great care is taken that they are at least well ventilated, if they are sometimes restricted in space for the numbers making use of the rooms. . . .

Duties

The duties performed by the troops are the usual drills, parades, guards, and pickets. In the winter season the men march out once a-week, and also are exercised with snow-shoes. . . .

The rifle practice takes place at the different stations from May to August, when generally the men are under canvas.

Crime

The amount of crime, considering the strength of the force in the Command, and the many temptations to which the troops are exposed, must be considered as small. Eight men only have been admitted to hospital on account of punishments in the course of the year.

APPENDIX 5

REGIMENTS IN GARRISON AT HALIFAX, MONTREAL AND KINGSTON

Date	Halifax	Montreal	Kingston
1830	34th; 52nd; 96th	24th; 66th	79th
1831	34th; 52nd 96th; 8th	66th; 15th 24th	79th; 66th
1832	8th; 34th 96th	15th; 79th	66th
1833	8th; 34th 96th; RB(1)	15th; 79th 24th	66th; 15th
1834	96th; RB(1) 83rd	24th	15th; 66th
1835	83rd; 96th RB (1)	24th; 32nd	66th; 24th
1836	34th; 83rd	32nd	24th
1837	34th; 83rd 85th; 43rd	32nd; 1st	24th
1838	34th; 85th 1st	34th; 85th 71st; 7thH 1st; GGds	24th; 83rd 71st; 93rd
1839	- - - - - -	7thH; GGds 1st; 71st 15th; 24th	83rd; 65th
1840	- - - - - -	7thH; GGds 1st; 71st 15th; 24th 66th; 73rd 85th	83rd; 65th 24th;
1841	8th; 37th	" " 32nd; 74th	24th; 34th 14th; 74th 43rd

Date	Halifax	Montreal	Kingston
1842	8th; 37th 30th; 76th	74th; 85th 7thH; 23rd 70th; 71st	14th; 43rd 23rd
1843	64th; 82nd RB(2); RB(R)	43rd; 67th 7thH; 70th 71st; 89th	23rd; 14th 93rd
1844	33rd; 43rd RB(2) RB(R)	43rd; 71st 89th; 93rd	93rd; 82nd 14th
1845	74th; RB(2) RB(R)	52nd; 60th 89th; 93rd	14th; 71st 82nd
1846	43rd; RB(2) RB(R)	46th; 52nd 60th; 93rd RB(1)	46th; 81st 82nd
1847	14th; 20th 23rd; 60th 89th; RB(2)	23rd; 52nd 71st; 77th	46th; 81st 20th; 77th RB(1)
1848	1st; 7th 23rd; 38th 46th; 82nd	23rd; 77th 19th; 97th	20th; RB(1)
1849	1st; 7th 38th; 97th	19th; 23rd 71st; QLtD	20th; RB(1)
1850	7th; 38th 97th	19th; 20th	20th; RB(1)
1851	38th; 88th	20th	RB(1)
1852	42nd; 72nd 97th	20th	RB(1); 71st
1853	76th; 97th 72nd	20th; 26th 71st	RB(1); 71st 54th
1854	76th; 72nd	26th; 71st 66th; 16th	45th; 54th RCR

Date	Halifax	Montreal	Kingston
1855	16th; 76th	RCR	RCR
1856	62nd; 63rd 76th	RCR; 39th	RCR; 9th
1857	62nd; 63rd 76th	39th; 9th	RCR; 9th
1858	62nd; 63rd	9th	RCR
1859	62nd; 63rd	RCR	RCR
1860	62nd; 63rd	RCR; 17th	RCR
1861	62nd; 63rd 16th; 17th IrRf	17th; 47th	RCR
1862	16th; 17th	RB(1);62nd 16th; SFGd GGds; 47th	RCR; 62nd
1863	16th; 17th	30th; 60th SFGd; GGds	RCR; 62nd 47th
1864	16th; 17th	SFGd; GGds 30th; 63rd RB(1)	RCR; 47th RB(1)
1865	16th; 17th	25th; 30th 60th; 63rd RB(4)	RCR
1866	16th; 17th 4th; 47th	16th; 17th 25th; 7th 23rd; 13thH	RCR
1867	4th; 47th	23rd; 25th 16th; 17th 7th; 100th 13thH; RB 29th	RCR

Date	Halifax	Montreal	Kingston
1868	4th; 47th 30th; 16th	78th; 60th 16th; 100th 7th; 13thH 69th	RCR
1869	30th; 16th 78th	78th; 60th 69th; 13thH 29th; RB	RCR
1870	78th; 84th	RB; 60th	RCR
1871	78th; 60th	100 men of the 60th Rifles remained in Montreal to administer the military school.	RCR disbanded

Abbreviations:

13thH - 13th Hussars
GGds - Grenadier Guards Regiment
SFGd - Scots Fusilier Guards Regiment
RCR - Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment
QLtD - Queen's Light Dragoons
IrRf - Irish Rifles

Highland Units:

71st Highland Light Infantry
73rd Royal Highland Regiment
78th 2nd Batt. Seaforth Highlanders
79th Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders
93rd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders

APPENDIX 6

GARRISON PLANS

HALIFAX SKITTLE ALLEYS

1. Wellington Barracks Skittle Alley (1876 repairs)
   - independent sports structure
2. Fort George Casemate Skittle Alley (1854)
   - converted citadel facility

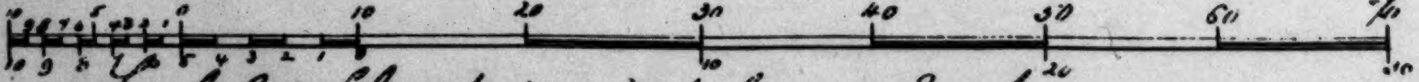
(plans courtesy of Halifax
Defence Complex - 1979)

HALIFAX, N.S.

WELLINGTON BARRACKS

Sketch shewing proposed Repairs to Skittle Alley

Scale for plan 10 feet to one inch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10
20
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40
50
60
70
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
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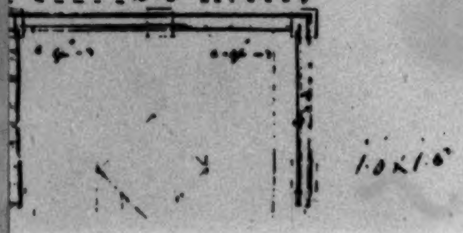
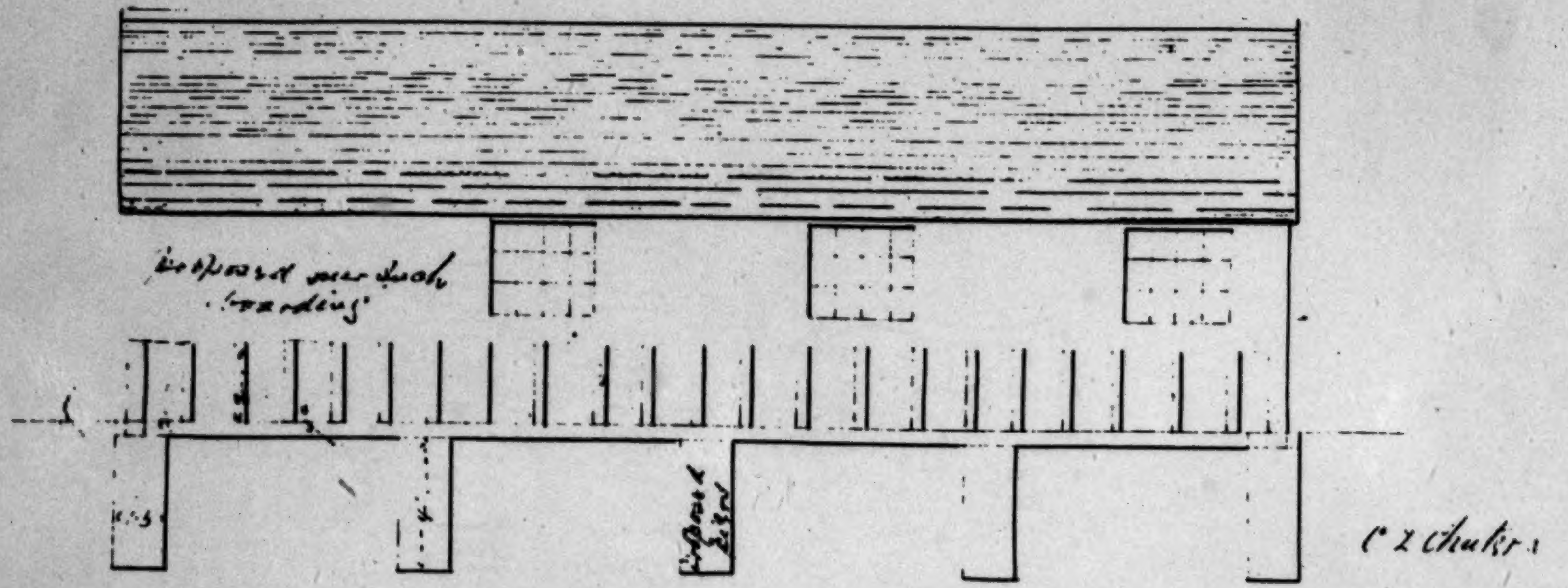
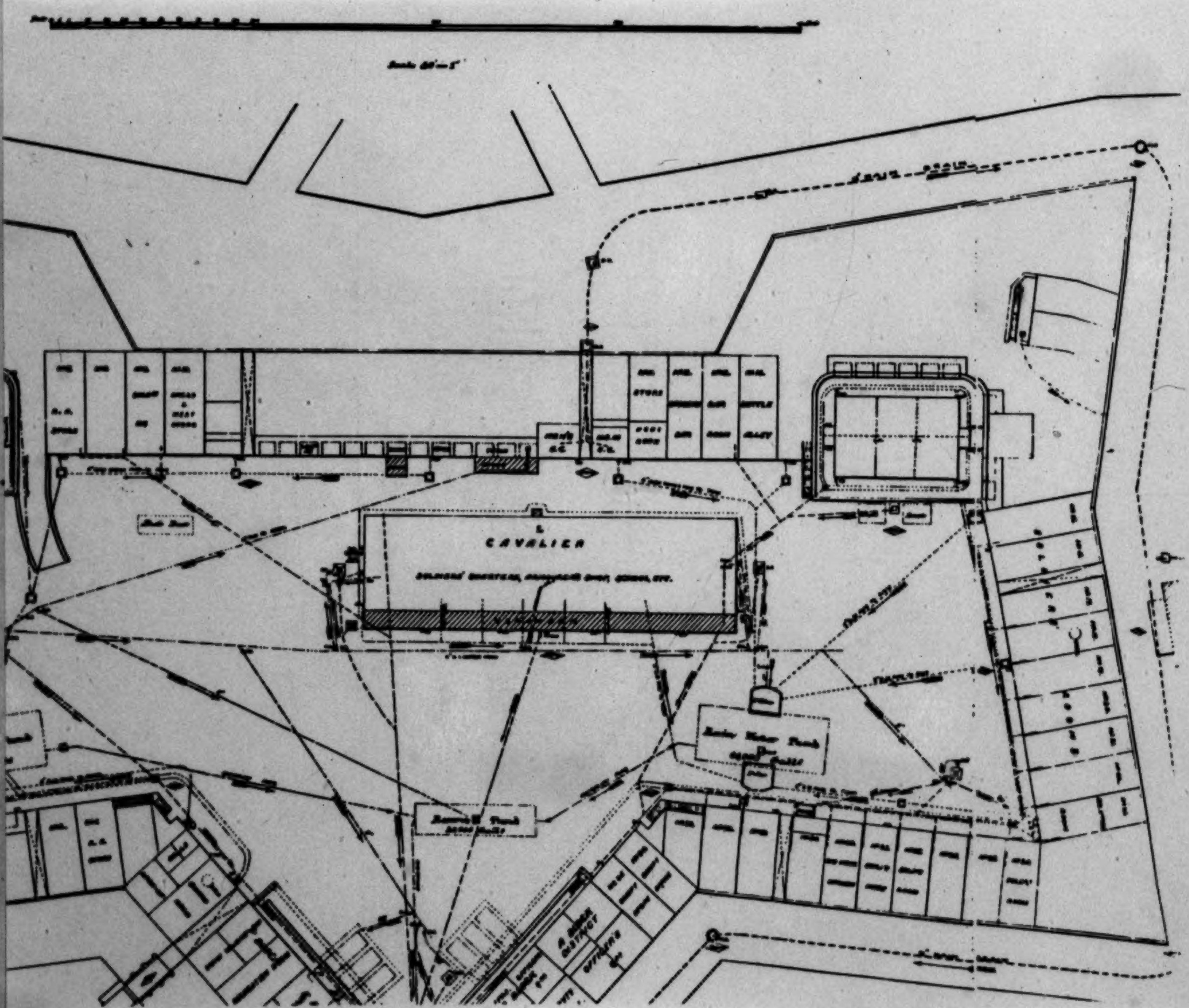
30

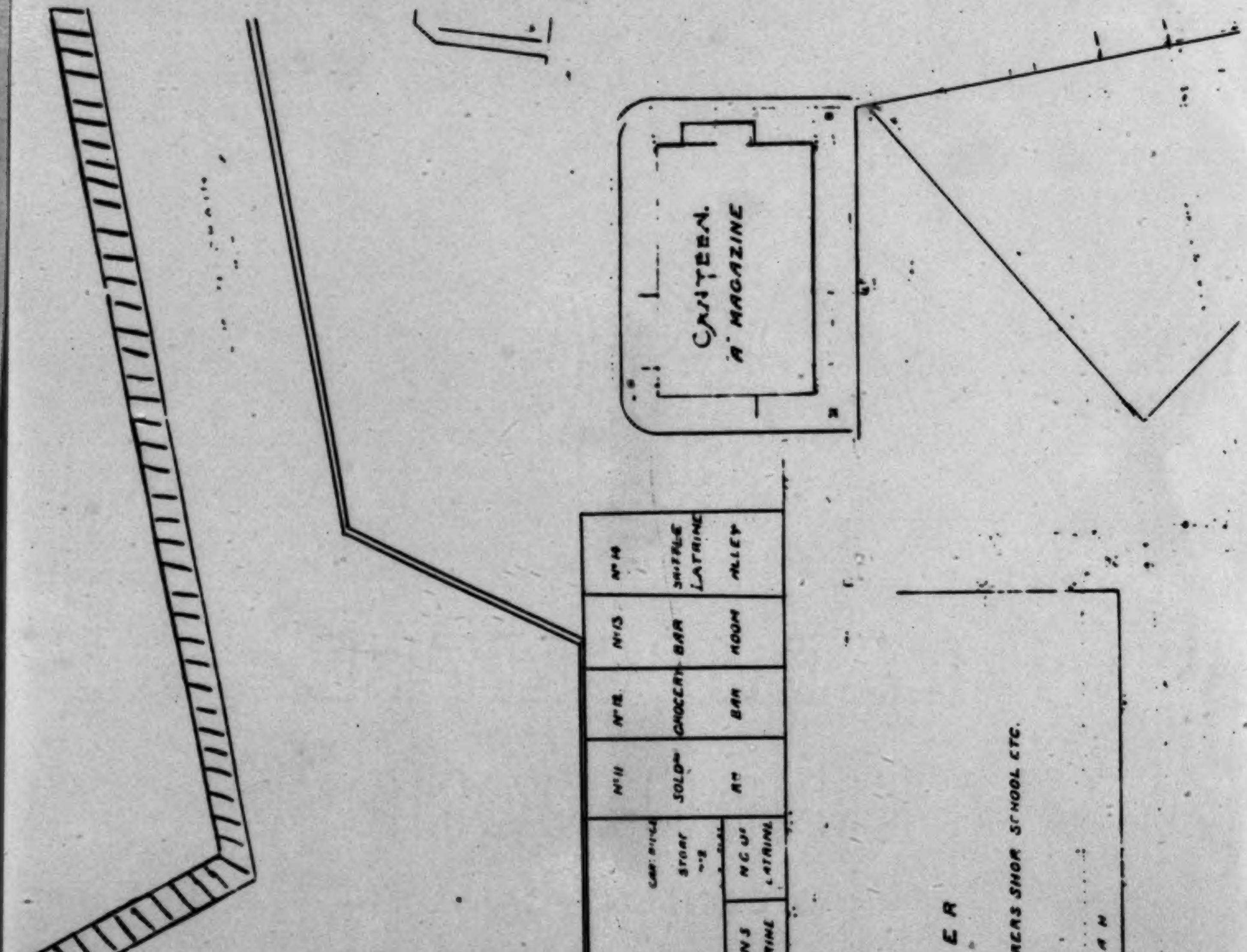
Scale for Elevation 5 feet to one Inch




boarded over such
boarding
C 2 Chuks.

— ELEVATION —


CAVALIER


CANTEEN.
'A' MAGAZINE
No 14
SKITTLE
LATRINE
ALLEY
No 13
BAR
ROOM
No 12
GROCERY
BAR
No 11
SOLDrs
Rm
CARTRIDGE
STORE
No 2
NCOs
LATRINE
MENS
LATRINE
HOUSE
2
CAVALIER
SOLDIERS QUARTERS, ARMOURERS SHOP, SCHOOL ETC.
VERANDAH

VITA

NAME: Robert Douglas Day

PLACE OF BIRTH: Chatham, Ontario, Canada

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1953

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PUBLICATIONS:

(1) "Canadian Sport in Poetry: A Nineteenth Century Newspaper Study of Chatham, Ontario Journals," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. X, No. 1 (May 1979):62-82.

(2) "Sport History Can Be Fun: The George McKenzie Story," Journal of the Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, Vol. 45, No. 5 (May-June 1979):15-16, 35-37.

(3) "Ethnic Soccer Clubs in London, Canada: A Study in Assimilation," International Review of Sport Sociology, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (May 1981):